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College and School News

Mrs. Mamie K. Clark received a Ph. D. in psychology from COLUMBIA in June. She was previously graduated with highest honors from Howard University with a B. S. in 1938, and an M. S. in 1939. A Rosenwald fellow, 1940-42, she is well-known in the child psychology field and has done considerable experimental work with children, alone and in collaboration with her husband, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, also a Ph. D. in psychology and a regular teacher at the College of the City of New York.

Dr. Mamie K. Clark

Dr. Richard I. McKinney, formerly dean of the School of Religion of Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va., has been elected fourth president of STORER COLLEGE, Harpers Ferry, West Va., to succeed Dr. H. T. McDonald, white. Dr. McKinney is a native of Live Oak, Fla., and was educated at Morehouse, Pendle Hill, Andover Newton Theological School, and Yale University.

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Over three quarters of a million dollars for the 1944-45 school year was appropriated by the recent Louisiana legislature to SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY, Scotlandville, and LOUISIANA NEGRO NORMAL, at Grambling, the two state institutions for Negroes. This sum represents a substantial increase over all previous appropriations for these schools.

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proximately $606,948. Of this amount $415,988 will come from the state; $75,000 from the anticipated revolving fund; and $116,000 from federal sources. The yearly budget for Louisiana Negro Normal will reach approximately $160,475, of which $118,475 is from state appropriations. Parish, federal, and revolving funds will contribute the remaining $42,000.

MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE announces the following faculty appointments: Dr. Wiley E. Baines, head of the school of pharmacy; Mrs. Maggie E. Terry, assistant pharmacist; Miss Mary L. Brown, public health nursing; Mrs. Glenna Hayes, instructor in nursing arts; Miss Eunice Mattis, assistant director of nursing education; Dr. W. A. Patterson, assistant professor of internal medicine; Dr. Matthew Walker, acting chairman of the department of surgery; Dr. S. H. Freeman, acting chairman of the department of anatomy; Dr. Daugh Smith, professor of clinical surgery; resident physicians: Dr. Emile Nash in medicine, Dr. George W. Hilliard in surgery, and Dr. Carr A. Treherne in obstetrics; Dr. Granville Lewis and Dr. William Allen, instructors in dentistry.

BLUEFIELD STATE COLLEGE held its ninth annual summer convocation August 6-11. Rev. W. R. Frye, pastor of the White Rock Baptist church, Lynchburg, Va., delivered the baccalaureate sermon; and H. D. Hazelwood, principal of the Douglass junior high school, Bluefield, made the address to the graduates.

THE UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND has announced the recepit of checks totaling $4,429.33 from the 92nd Division stationed at Fort Huachuca, Arizona.

First division of the 1944 fund was made in July, and $250,000 was divided among the member colleges. Later distributions are to be made in the fall when more complete totals of the funds come in.

President Charles H. Wesley announced in July that $30,000 had been paid on the mortgage of WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY, the original amount of which was $119,000. It is expected that during 1944 the entire mortgage and principal will be paid.

Seventeen Negro educators representing six high schools and eleven land-grant colleges attended a six-week workshop on the campus of Ohio State University. The workshop was sponsored jointly by the Cooperative Negro College Study, directed by H. C. Trenholm, president of Alabama State Teachers College, and the Secondary School Study, directed by

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W. A. Robinson of Atlanta University. The workshop program was under the direction of Professor Louis E. Raths of the Ohio State school of education.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE was host, July 10-12, to a statewide conference on race relations under the direction of Dr. N. C. Newbold, director of the State Division of Negro Education. The conference laid emphasis upon education, health and welfare as factors in producing better race relations. Among the speakers at the conference were Governor J. Melville Broughton of North Carolina, Clyde A. Erwin, C. C. Spaulding of Durham, Dr. John Hope Franklin of North Carolina State, state labor commissioner Forrest H. Shufford, and Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina.

The 1944 scroll of honor, awarded annually by FORT VALLEY STATE COLLEGE for distinguished service to Negro education in Georgia, went to J. L. Bozeman, Sr., principal of the Hawkinsville high and industrial school. Previous winners have been T. J. Elder, 1940; F. H. Henderson, 1941; C. L. Harper, 1942; and Mrs. Addie E. Hutto, 1943.

Forty-one SHAW UNIVERSITY students were included on the university's honor roll of students for the second semester of the school year 1943-44. Misses Dorothy M. Cheek, Henderson, N. C., Clementine A. High, New York City, and Marie V. Wood, New York, led the honor group by earning all "A" grades.

DILLARD UNIVERSITY announces a study of Negro business and business education in New Orleans as part of a nineteen-city survey of areas with large Negro populations. Dr. George Snowden of the university is local director with William Mitchell of the YMCA School of Commerce and Grady Farley of the Urban League responsible for the actual execution of the project. A group of distinguished businessmen is acting as a policy-making committee for the study. A cooperative project, this survey has been made possible by the National Urban League, the Negro Business Association, and twenty Negro colleges on a grant from the General Education Board.

Miss Theresa Cottles, a 1944 graduate of Dillard with a major in fine arts, is using her artistic talent and training to design bag sets for an exclusive New York concern. Miss Cottles is a native of New Orleans, and this winter she plans to continue her studies at the Pratt Institute of Design in New York City.

J. Andrew Gaulden, principal of the Abbeville Training School, Abbeville, La., was a ranking June graduate of the CHICAGO IN-

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VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was host, August 4-6, to the tenth anniversary convention of the National Association of the New Farmers of America (NFA). The NFA was first organized in Virginia, May, 1927, in sectional meetings with a few chapters and members. It has now expanded until it includes sixteen chartered NFA state associations with an active membership of nearly 25,000.

THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK announces that a year's scholarship for training in psychiatric social work under the auspices of the Children's Center of Detroit, nationally known child guidance agency, has been awarded to Helene Jacobs, a 1944 graduate of the Atlanta University School of Social Work. Miss Jacobs, a native of Norfolk, Va., is the first member of her race to receive this scholarship. She is the daughter of Rev. F. W. Jacobs of Bridgeport, Conn., and a resident of that city.

In July the STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, Elizabeth City, N. C., was the scene of a two-day regional health conference sponsored by the central committee of health education and health services representing the North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction and the State Board of Health.

An institute on education for victory, sponsored by the regional office of OPA and directed by Ernest E. Neal, was held on the WILEY COLLEGE campus, July 27-28. Dr. Kelso B. Morris, A. P. Watson, and Mrs. H. L. Bradford of the Wiley staff participated. Purpose of the institute was to rouse public consciousness to the dangers of inflation and to stimulate civilian interest in government controlled prices.

Annual summer school convocation was held at LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) August 3 when fifteen graduates received their degrees. Thomas A. Webster, executive secretary of the Kansas City, Mo., Urban League was the principal speaker.

The Lincoln University School of Law will observe its fifth year of operation when it reopens in September. Begun in 1939 the school has been inactive since last February.

Dr. Moddie Taylor of the university faculty was collaborator on an article on "Acid-Base Studies in Gaseous Systems" contributed to the *Journal of the American Chemical Society* (Vol. 66, 1944).

A total of 89 men and women students are listed on the second-semester honor rolls of HAMPTON INSTITUTE.

Dr. Alain Locke, professor of philosophy at Howard, delivered the commencement address at the summer school graduation exercises, August 18. Baccalaureate speaker was Dr. Richard I. McKinney, president of Storer College.

Two activities sponsored by the institute summer school were the third annual song festival, July 26, under the direction of James E. Dorsey, director of music in the summer school; and an institute on family life problems, August 2-4, under the supervision of Miss Graves Reeves, director of home economics at Hampton.

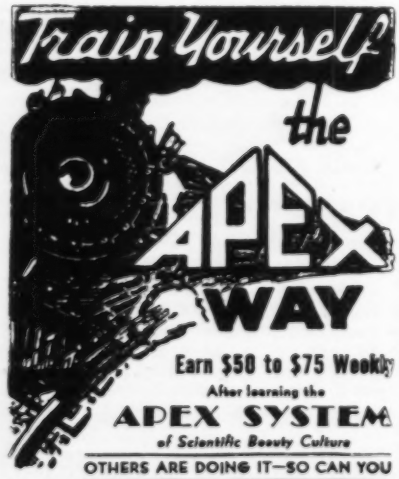
Two former students of Hampton, G. James Fleming, regional director of FEPC, Philadelphia, and David W. Henry, received masters' degrees at the 180th commencement exercises of the University of Pennsylvania.

Hampton announces the appointment of Leander L. Boykin, formerly director of the office of admissions and records and dean of men at Fayetteville, N. C., State Teachers College, as dean of students.

With the purpose of organizing into one body all Negro teachers of handicapped children, the National Society of Special Education was formed at Hampton July 28 by students and staff members of the special education department of the Hampton summer school. The society will meet annually at Hampton, which is the only Negro college offering summer courses in the education of the deaf and blind.

Officers of the new organization are: Mrs. I. M. Theus, president; Mrs. Mary T. English, vice-president; Miss Nannie S. Davison and Mrs. Ruby C. Brown, secretary and assistant secretary respectively; and Mrs. Annie B. Jones, treasurer.

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE held its second mine foreman's and fireboss conference, July 21-22, under the direction of U. G. Carter, state coordinator of mining.



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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A Record of the Darker Races

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WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED WITH THIS COPY SEND IT TO A BOY IN CAMP

COVER

Miss Aurelia Carter of Yonkers, N. Y., is a typical American girl with a fragile, glamorous appearance. She is a secretary to the financial committee of her church as well as of the Yonkers' branch of her union, the United Electrical Radio Machine Workers of America. She climbed to her goal of champion welder from packer, to assembler, to drill press operator, braiser, carbon welder, and finally electric arc welding. Before the war she was interested in more feminine pursuits and millinery designing was her chosen life's work.

NEXT MONTH

We expect to publish Stetson Kennedy's "The Right to Vote," George Padmore's "Anglo-American Plan for Control of Colonies," and Max L. Hudicourt's study of racial discrimination in Haiti. We shall also carry the second article in the series by Grant Reynolds, "What the Negro Soldier Thinks About . . . The War Department."

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Morton Fineman lives in Philadelphia and contributes frequently to *The Crisis*. Grant Reynolds, formerly a chaplain with the rank of captain in the U. S. Army, is administrative assistant in the Washington Bureau of the NAACP. Theodore Spaulding is a Philadelphia lawyer and president of the Philadelphia branch of the NAACP. Dr. Benjamin Quarles is professor of history at Dillard University, New Orleans, La.

Editorials

PHILADELPHIA—POSTWAR PREVIEW?

THE great question emerging from the stoppage of work by 6,000 employes of the Philadelphia Transportation Company August 1 assertedly because eight Negroes had been upgraded and were being trained by the company for jobs as motormen is whether this is a preview of what the Negro may expect in the postwar period.

Are we to have stoppages, street fighting, race-hating speeches, and naked and unchecked race-baiting after the war? Are American citizens who happen not to be white going to be the victims of mobs for the "crime" of wanting to work and maintain themselves as members of society?

The Company

In Philadelphia there were certain disturbing, as well as heartening, elements. First, the company, the PTC, made not a single move either to stop the strike before it started or to get the men back to work after the stoppage occurred. The company did not once condemn the declared motive for the strike. It permitted the use of its property for meetings of the dissident employes weeks before the strike at which the anti-Negro sentiment was whipped up. The company is known to be anti-CIO and is on record as being against the employment of Negroes as motormen. It is natural to assume, therefore, especially in the light of its conduct during the strike, that the company did not wish to take any positive steps to correct a situation which it thought was unfavorably spotlighting *both* the CIO and the upgrading of Negroes.

The company's attitude is indicated most clearly by the admission of Dr. David Mitten, its public relations adviser, that it had prepared posters announcing that the policy of hiring Negroes had been withdrawn, and asking the men to return to work. These notices were drawn up in mid-morning of the first day of the strike and would have been tacked to car barn bulletin boards that afternoon except for the fact that the Federal government agencies, the War Manpower Commission and the FEPC would not back down on the hiring of Negroes.

The City Administration

In addition to the company, the Philadelphia city administration did less than it should have done in an event which paralyzed a metropolis of more than 2,000,000 people. Mayor Bernard Samuel conferred at once with FEPC officials and then remained practically incommunicado.

Mayor Samuel made one appeal during the tie-up of his city. What was it? It was an appeal, not against race hatred, but for Philadelphians who had automobiles to pick up those who had no transportation!

The Press and Public

Chief among the heartening elements was the unanimous and vigorous condemnation of the stoppage by the Philadelphia dailies. They expressed in no uncertain terms the outrage of the public. The CIO union stood firmly by its non-discrimination policy. And, as mentioned above, there was the stand of the Federal government, capped by the calling in of the Army to take over. The FEPC received in this instance the ultimate in support from the Chief Executive. Finally, there was the action of citizen's groups in cooperatively attacking the issues and mobilizing sentiment. Ignored by the Mayor, they acted independently. The Philadelphia branch of the NAACP, together with the Committee for Equal Job Opportunity, issued 100,000 leaflets urging citiens to keep cool heads and refrain from violence. It is significant that while there were some disorders (as might be expected in any paralyzing strike) the race hatred talk was confined to the statements of the strikers. The citizens of Philadelphia, white and black, went about their daily tasks in good will.

But it would be idle to assume that scars have not been left by the Philadelphia incident. It would be suicidal to ignore the sentiment which for the moment is under the surface. All the old fantastic lies about Negroes were trotted out by the hate-strikers: the Negro must be "put back" in his place, trolley driving is a white man's job, to give them these jobs is to give social equality, the next thing will be intermarriage, Negroes have got too "uppity" during the war and must be smacked down, *while our white boys are fighting overseas the Negroes are taking their jobs here at home and what Negro soldiers there are in the army have safe jobs behind the fighting front.*

The Task

Unless something is done to counteract these lies with facts there will be no public opinion strong enough after the war to prevent riots. For example, the white majority of the population is ignorant of the records and achievements of Negroes in the army. An occasional item and an occasional picture appears in the dailies. The newsreels have been notorious for their omission of shots of Negro troops. Negro newspapers carry the news and a newsreel company catering exclusively to Negro theatres carries pictures. The Negro knows what part he is playing in this war, but his white neighbors do not. Out of this situation alone explosions can and will come. The tension on this one point was great in Philadelphia and will be great in every large center.

The many committees and commissions on race relations set up by mayors and governors after the Detroit riot of 1943 would do well to take both the long and the short view, and act accordingly. The Philadelphia picture need not be the postwar picture of race relations in America. Readjustments there must be for all citizens and the Negro will take his share, but there must be no *special* readjustment for the Negro only. The best brains of both races must meet, honestly and courageously, the challenge of the Philadelphia situation. They must have the cooperation of all government, local, state and federal, and they must have the support of rank and file whites and Negroes, both prepared to give and take in the light of the realities of today, rather than the traditions and fears and ignorance of yesterday.

Buy and *Hold* War Bonds

The best way to help America in the war, the best way to back up our boys on the battlefronts of the world is to buy War bonds. The best investment in Freedom and the future is War bonds. Not only buy them, but *hold* them.

Philadelphia's Hate Strike

By Theodore Spaulding

This articles gives the background of the six-day strike which paralyzed Philadelphia's transportation system

ON AUGUST 1, the entire Philadelphia transportation system, some 2,600 trolley cars, busses, and subway-elevated trains, stood idle.

Thousands of persons trudged miles upon miles of city streets to and from their work while 6,000 employees of PTC defied their union and the government of the United States and turned their back on public welfare.

Colored citizens were hurt to the quick by the expressed reason for this vast debacle in the life of a great city. "We won't go back to work until they take the Negroes off," said Frank Carney, a leader of the strike and president of the PRT employees' union, known as the company union and long the collective bargaining representative of PTC workers but supplanted early this year by the Transport Workers' union (CIO). Only the day before the strike began Negroes had felt a deep sense of pride when General Eisenhower publicly cited their sons and fathers, colored soldiers at the war front, for unusual valor during the invasion. Now a few Philadelphians had tied a knot in the city with total disregard for the war needs of those men and millions of others because colored men were not wanted in a few ordinary jobs. Ugly rumors began to flood the city; hot heads and hoodlums began breaking windows of white shop owners and attacking automobilists in Negro neighborhoods; looting followed. It became unsafe for Negroes to travel in certain white areas of the city, and a number of colored travellers were attacked by whites. Three white motorists drove through a Negro neighborhood and without warning or stopping, shot a 13 year old Negro lad—all of the ingredients of a first class race riot were boiling and brewing in the cauldron of a city of 2,000,000 persons, three hundred thousand of whom were colored, smarting under the insults being heaped upon them by bigoted PTC strikers and sympathizers.

Everlasting credit must be given to combined Negro and white leadership in averting the racial clashes which on August first and second appeared inevitable. Morale was also bolstered by the unanimous condemnation of the strikers and display of democratic sympathy towards the principles of fair play for the colored PTC workers which was shown by the press and radio. To understand what Philadelphia leadership did, it is necessary to digress to show the ramifications in the fight to eliminate racial discrimination in the partly city-owned transit system; of the several attempts made to bring a modification of the employment patterns; of the men who led the strike, and of the conditions which made this runaway of members from CIO's TWU.

In Philadelphia the transportation workers went on strike in protest against upgrading of Negroes. But in Detroit, Mich., Negroes have been driving trolley cars and buses efficiently and without friction with white fellow workers. Photo shows one of the Negro conductors in Detroit at the controls of his trolley.

American Pattern Reflected

Tradition ruled that Negroes could be employed only in certain positions in the city's transportation system. These positions were predominantly in the ways and maintenance divisions and as messengers and porters. Some of the Negroes thus employed even became foremen and some held skilled, better paying jobs, such as welders; it is also true, nevertheless, that the "Negro jobs" were those exposed to the outdoor cold and snow of winter and the heat of summer, and those usually called "back-breaking" and "menial." Regardless of training capacity, years of service, loyalty or desire a Negro could never hope to fill certain jobs, such as conductors, motormen, bus drivers, station cashiers, stenographers, and so forth.

Occasionally, down the years, the *Philadelphia Tribune* and individual persons had tried to lower the barriers against Negros but to no avail. Not even in World War I, however, did Negroes get the opportunity to fill operational jobs in the transportation system.

When the demands of this war brought about a significant shortage of transportation workers, the PTC used every known device of advertising and recruitment to secure the needed operators. Workers in less essential classifications were invited to apply for transfer to operators. Even the pay envelopes of Negroes contained these invitations for transfer.

In August, 1941, a committee of colored PTC workers called upon Ralph T. Senter, President of PTC, and literally begged that, in the light of the war effort, Negroes be employed and upgraded by the company without discrimination based on race and color. The officials of the PTC were polite but they said they could do nothing; that the Negroes would have to take their plight up with the independent PRT employees union, then the bargaining agent. Specifically, the company said its hands were tied because of a clause in ite contract with the union a clause which made no reference to Negroes but which was interpreted as estopping the utilization of Negroes in jobs Negroes had not held before. This clause read:

> Except as herein specifically covenanted, all existing rules, regulations and customs bearing on the employer-employee relationship shall continue in full force and effect until changed by agreement between the parties.

The committee next approached the executive board of the union but receiving no consideration in this direction, then turned for help to local organizations, especially the Philadelphia branch of the NAACP which, in November, 1942, interceded with the company only to receive the same reply as did the workers' committee. The NAACP next addressed the union, only to receive a reply on January 18, 1943, stating that the question of non-discriminatory employment of Negroes "is not a subject over which the union has any control."

Thus, the Negro workers, members of the union, many of whom had worked as long as twenty years for the company, were given the proverbial run-around. The company

said: "Only the union can improve your situation." The union said "We have no control."

"White Only" As Usual

One month after Pearl Harbor, when every American, at long last, knew that the United States was really in a global war, and when, incidentally, we were not yet winning that war, PTC applied to the U. S. Employment Service for 100 motormen and stipulated that these referrals should be "white" only. The USES explained the scarcity of men and called attention to the national fair employment policy which forbade discrimination against war workers because of their race, creed, color, or national origin.

The company refused to budge.

Both the regional director of the War Manpower commission, L. B. F. Raycroft, and the minority groups representative, Reginald A. Johnson, held conferences with the company in an effort to change its attitude. The Philadelphia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to whom the colored workers appealed for aid in their struggle in the latter part of 1942, actively campaigned in the matter. Its spokesmen also held numerous conferences with PTC and with PRT union officials. The NAACP enlisted the aid of a large number of other community organizations and churches throughout the city. Mass meetings were held. A public march of 2,000 persons to the company offices was conducted.

That PTC needed trolley, bus, and subway-elevated operators was openly admitted. Car cards, radio and handbills appealed for help. At one time a bonus of $10 was offered to any PTC employee who recommended a new worker if that worker remained with the company at least thirty days. Later, PTC distributed 60,000 handbills to the homes of white women appealing to them to seek platform work with the company. Everyone was wanted to make his contribution to the war effort save the Negro.

FEPC Enters Case

Added to the complaints which had been submitted to the War Manpower Commission the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice also received several more in the fall of 1943 including one from the NAACP and it took jurisdiction over the case. On October 4, 1943, separate conferences were held by G. James Fleming, regional director, FEPC, with representatives of the company and the union. PTC's Dr. Mitten, chairman of its board, declared its willingness to "employ Negroes provided they are acceptable to fellow-workers. . . ." The company also stated that it would "follow the directives issued by the President's committee."

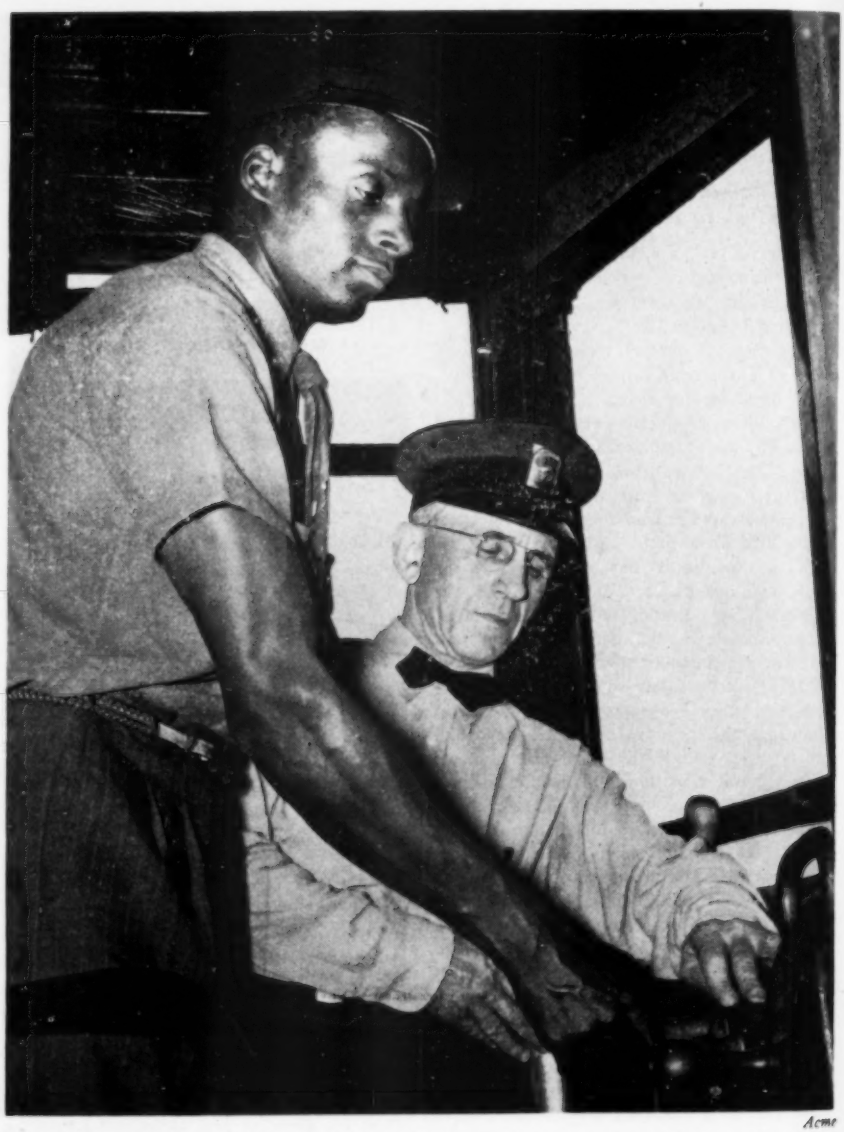
Frank Carney, and Frank Cobourn, in speaking for the union, said that the "customs" clause in the contract "had restricted the employment or upgrading of Negroes to certain jobs," but that since the war emergency, the company "had made no formal demands for a change in custom to allow the employment of Negroes in jobs not customarily held by Negroes." Finally, the union representatives volunteered that the current "manpower conditions in Philadelphia might necessitate a change in custom," but that they would have to consult with their members first.

In a later conference on November 5, 1943, at which Malcolm Ross, national chairman of FEPC took part, representatives of PTC, in a signed statement said:

> . . . . The Company is willing to take whatever steps the Committee may direct to be taken as necessary and appropriate to bring its employment practices in line with the President's Executive Orders.

The union asked for ten days in which to consult with its members.

On November 17, 1943, FEPC issued its first directive to the company to "cease and desist" from discriminating against employees and applicants because of their race and color, contrary to the Presidents' Executive Order, and to "cease and desist from any interpretation of its contract . . . which has the effect of prohibiting the employment or the upgrading . . . of qualified Negroes to positions as street car and motor coach operators and conductors, motormen, guards, platform attendants, and station cashiers . . . or to any other job classification not presently held by Negroes."



Acme

Upgrading of this man and seven of his fellows provoked the strike of PTC employees in August. Photo shows Thomas E. Allen, for 16 years an employee of the PTC, receiving instruction in the art of trolley driving from William Poisel, chief instructor for the company, on a practice track.

The PRT employees union asked for a public hearing, which hearing was held December 8, 1943, in Philadelphia. The union tried to show that the "customs" clause in its contract prevented non-discriminatory employment of Negroes. Further, it promised that if Negroes were employed as operators, "chaos and impairment to transportation" would follow.

After considering the record, FEPC issued a directive on December 29, 1943, making final the earlier directive and adding:

> That the Philadelphia Transportation Company, as to whom the Directives of this Committee became final on November 27, 1943, comply with the aforementioned Directives immediately; and that, should the Company's efforts in this respect meet with any opposition by or on behalf of the Union, or by or on behalf of any other person, the Company shall report to this Committee the nature of that opposition together with the names and addresses of the person or persons responsible therefor.

On January 3, 1944, the union notified the committee it could not comply and advised the company not to comply. The company—which had specifically stated that it would follow the directives issued by FEPC—now "back-watered" and accommodated the union. It politely told FEPC it could not comply. Simultaneously, the union sent out an S.O.S. to Virginia's anti-liberal Congressman Howard Smith. On January 18, 1944, his Special Committee to Investigate Executive Agencies held a public hearing in Washington at which the union officers and individual members followed their (and Hitler's) racial line, and in which the company was polite, nothing more. The Smith committee has not reported to date.

The Contract Expires

Both the PTC and the independent union built a front line around the contractual basis of their anti-Negro policy. The company very self-righteously just could not violate a contract. But on April 11, the contract expired, and on March 14, the PTC workers (transportation and maintenance) elected TWU-CIO as their bargaining agent, defeating by an appreciable margin the race-baiting outfit.

It would now be months before a new contract was signed and PTC had the opportunity to mend its ways, since it still was in great need of workers. The company took no action and allowed the FEPC directive to gather dust, on the excuse that it would be better to await the new contract with the CIO.

It must be clear by now that, although the company never specifically stated it was against the non-discriminatory employment of Negroes, and although it was the union which allowed itself to take the blame, nevertheless, the Philadelphia Transportation Company took no constructive, clear-cut position; neither did any of the members of its board, many of them the "pillars" of the community. Those close to the picture attest that the PRT Employees Union was company-dominated, even if since 1937 it was no longer legalistically a "company union."

Employment is acknowledgedly a management function, but here the company passed the buck, and the union was willing to carry the ball of race hate and reaction (with apoligies for the mixed figures of speech).

War Manpower Stabilization

As of July 1, 1944, the War Manpower Commission ruled that all hiring of male workers throughout the nation must be made through the U. S. Employment Service in order to permit the fullest use of such male workers as are available in the stringent labor market. To comply with this order, PTC on July 7, posted announcements as to its new employment policy. The opening paragraph of this notice read:

> Effective July 1, 1944 the War Manpower Commission of the United States Government has ordered that "In furtherance of the war effort and for the purpose of achieving the most effective utilization of the services of labor in essential and locally needed activities *** all hiring and solicitation of workers in, or for work in, the Philadelphia area shall be conducted in accordance with the *** Employment Stabilization Plan. In accordance with that Plan, the Philadelphia Transportation Company will obtain new male employes through the United States Employment Service. The United States Employment Service is required to refer to employers, and this company will accept, those who qualify for open positions without regard to the applicant's race, creed, color or national origin.

Eight colored employees were accepted by PTC for training on July 22. Following preliminaries, they were to begin taking training trolleys on the streets on August first.

As soon as the notices of July 7 were posted, signs appeared on the walls of a few car barns inciting employees not to work with Negroes, and the company had a few telephone calls to the same effect. In fact, it turned out that the die-hards of the old "company" union had held a number of meetings, some on company property, to organize a protest strike. From these meetings loyal CIO members were excluded. The union, up to the day before the strike, felt that only a handful of reactionary workers would object. The local NAACP, only a week before the strike began, informed PTC through its Dr. Mitten of protest meetings being held on company property and asked what the company was doing to avoid trouble. Dr. Mitten said nothing was being done, and the company did nothing.

The strikers started out on August 14, in the firm belief that they could rally the support of the people of Philadelphia, both those who felt that full war production should be maintained at any price, and those who were opposed to the inconvenience following in the wake of the strike. The truth is, however, that just the oposite was true.

The daily press was eloquent in its editorial condemnation of the methods and purposes of the strike leaders and their followers. The radio commentators followed this same pattern. Both press and radio also essayed to show that there were other issues besides the racial involved; neither indulged in sensationalism, and both favored the fullest investigation.

The vast majority of letters in the "Letters to the Editor" columns, and they were legion, were in favor of fair employment and against the wildcat strikers, and both the NAACP and FEPC offices received countless telephone messages from persons who said, "I am a white Philadelphian; please tell me what I can do. . ."

The local federal government officials concerned, both civilian and military, stood firm for settlement in keeping with the national policy.

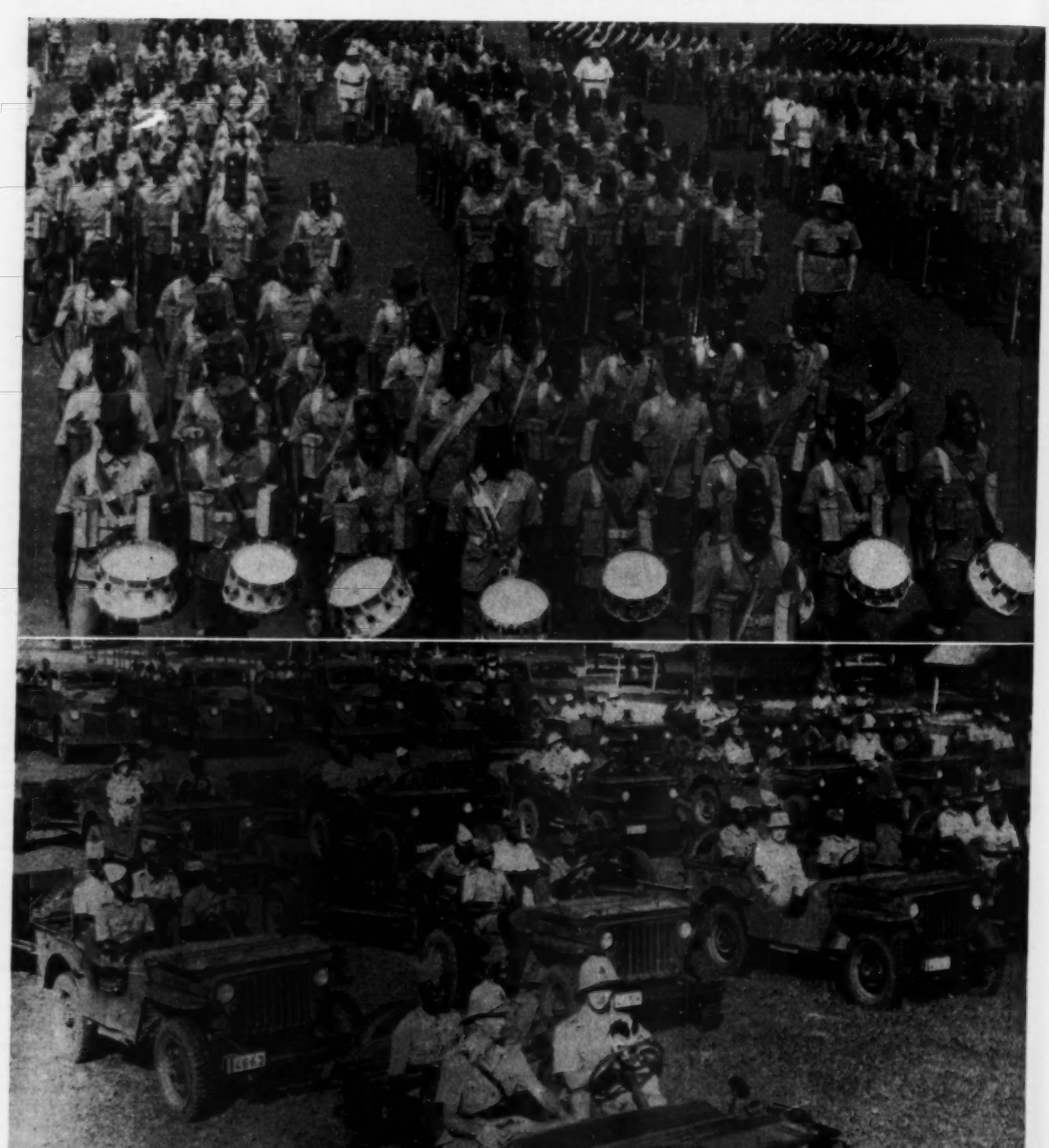
Institutions and organizations, colored and white, quickly swung into action to clarify the issues to the people of Philadelphia, to arouse support for a thorough-going investigation, and to join in calling for law and order, despite the temptations for disorder. The Philadelphia branch distributed 100,000 leaflets asking citizens to sit tight, to keep their "heads and tempers," to keep cool and "treat other people as you would be treated." Where the voices of the strike-leaders preached hate and sought to set whites against black and vice versa, and where a fringe of Negroes turned to violence against white storekeepers, the dominant disposition was one of understanding, of tolerance, of desire to help, and this spirit was nowhere as evident as in the wide interracial mutual interest among the several groups of the city. A sampling of the organizations working together reads like this:

> The United Nations Council, The Philadelphia Federation of Churches, The Women's International League, The North Philadelphia Civic League, Allied Veterans Association of Philadelphia, American Jewish Congress, A.M.E. Church, Baptist Ministers Conference of Philadelphia, Catholic Intercollegiate, Interracial Council, CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination, Committee on Race Relations of the Society of Friends, Dept. of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches, Fellowship Commission, Fellowship House, Germantown-Chestnut Hill Ministerial Association, A.M.E. Preachers' Meeting of Philadelphia, Interracial Discussion Group, Jewish People's Fraternal Order, IWO; National Alliance of Postal Employees, National Bar Association, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Conference of Christians and Jews, National Lawyers Guild, National Urban League, Pennsylvania Baptist State Convention, Philadelphia Industrial Union Council, CIO; Philadelphia Metropolitan Council for Equal Job Opportunity, Suoth Philadelphia Civic League, City Policy Committee, Baptist Ministers Council, Civil Liberties Department of the Elks Lodge.

The strike which began at 4 a.m., August ', was not three hours old before Walter White, secretary of the NAACP was contacted by the Philadelphia branch and requested to use the vast resources of the national office toward stopping a bad situation before it crystallized into serious disorder. Before nine o'clock telegrams had been dispatched by the national office to President Roosevelt and Paul V. McNutt, head of the manpower division calling for immediate federal intervention. Before nine o'clock attempts were made by the NAACP to contact the mayor, and its aid was offered to the police department. The national office sent its assistant secretary Roy Wilkins, to Philadelphia and for several hectic days the NAACP office was so busy that its phone calls could not be answered: investigations of rumors, telegrams, preparation of leaflets,

(*Continued on page* 301)

NATIVE TROOPS OF THE BELGIAN CONGO ON PARADE



Three Lions

At the time of the most acute danger to the United Nations cause, the Belgian Congo guarded the allied flank and supplied vitally important rubber, cotton, and coffee when these goods were scarce. The well-trained troops of the Belgian Congo, mostly natives commanded by Belgian officers, are equipped with modern weapons on the lend-lease basis. At top is a parade of native infantry. Bottom picture shows motorized infantry in U. S. made jeeps and trucks moving across Leopoldsville. There are more Belgian Congo pictures on the following pages.

BELGIAN CONGO SENTRIES AND SHARPSHOOTERS

Three Lions

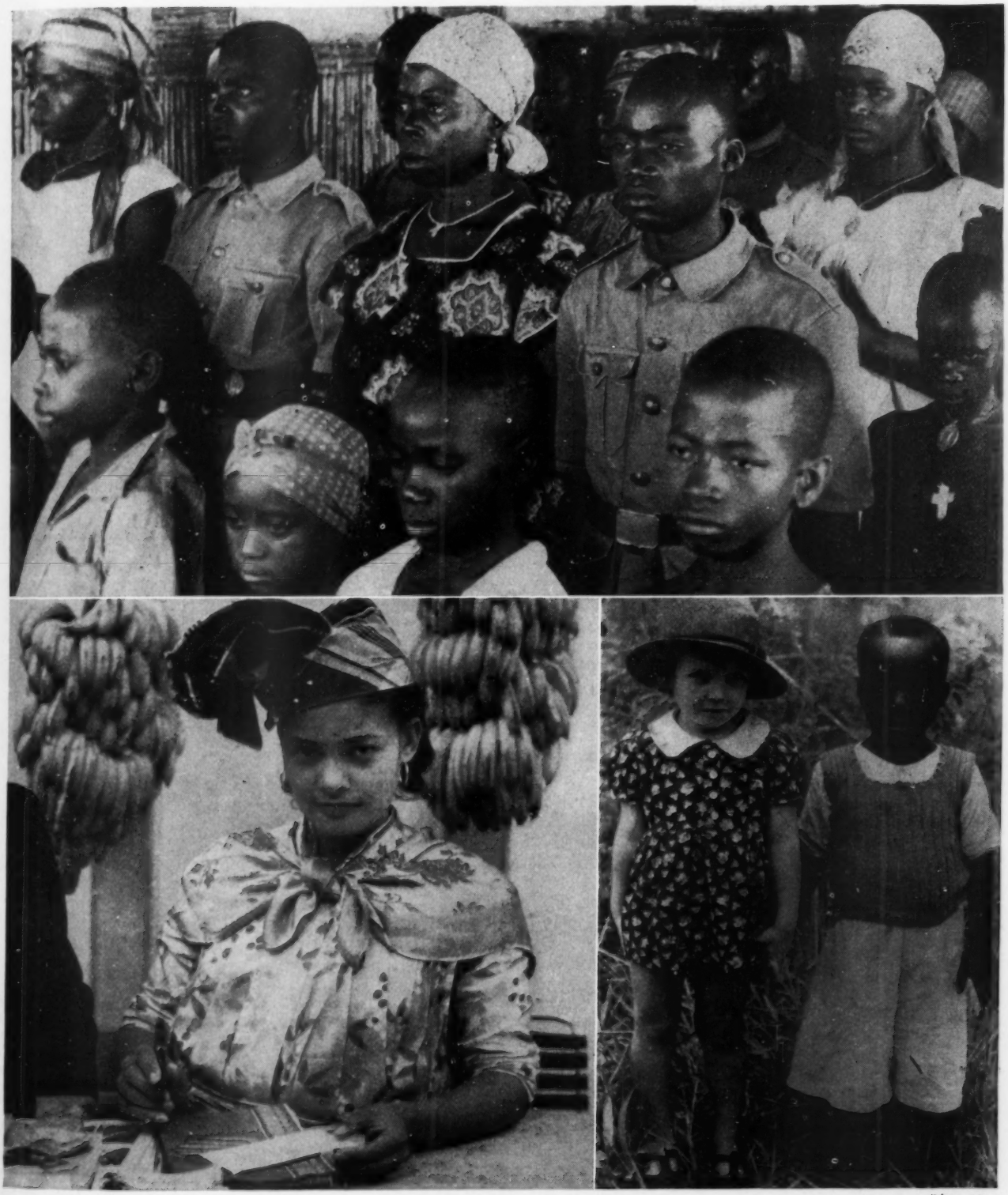
Upper left: Native sentries. Right: A detachment of sharpshooters in the Congo. They fight on the side of the Free French. Lower left: Women of the Belgian Congo use these strangely shaped containers for the goods they carry to the nearest village for sale at the market. Right: A Belgian Congo military patrol on an inspection tour.

KATANGA MINING VILLAGE IN THE BELGIAN CONGO

Three Lions

Upper picture shows a Katanga mining village in the Congo. The white man at the left is probably a missionary or Belgian colonial official. Lower left is a United States anti-aircraft gun supplied to the Belgian Congo army on a lend-lease basis. The native gunner has trained it on his target. Right: A fully equipped native soldier of the Belgian Congo Army in the African bush.

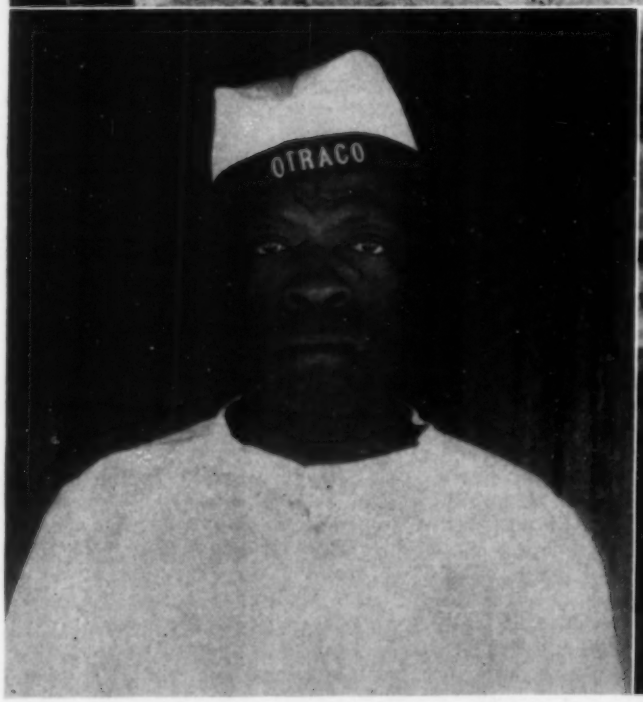
BELGIAN CONGO NATIVES



Three Lions

Upper picture shows native soldiers and women attending mass near camp in the neighborhood of Leopoldsville, capital of the Belgian Congo. There are more than 2,000 Catholic missionaries in the country and about one-quarter of the native population has been christianized. Lower left is a pretty native girl from Leopoldsville. Right: The child of Belgian residents with a little native Congo boy friend.

A NATIVE MARKET IN THE BELGIAN CONGO



Three Lions

The top picture shows jugs for sale at a market in the Belgian Congo. At lower left is the picture of a native seaman. Right: A native sergeant with his baby. He is stationed at a military camp near Leopoldsville.

What the Negro Soldier Thinks About This War

By Grant Reynolds

The Negro soldier has done some deep and serious thinking about this war and its "aims," as well as the segregated role assigned him in the Army. In this article, the first in a series, a seasoned trooper reveals the Negro soldier's innermost thoughts.

FOR the past two years and ten months I have been a Chaplain on active duty with the United States Army. I have found Negro soldiers bitterly resentful of their lot in this war. My having served with Medical Troops in Virginia, Infantry Troops in Massachusetts, raw recruits at a reception center in Michigan, sick and wounded soldiers from both Negro Divisions at a hospital in Arizona, and the troops comprising a Station Complement in California, has given me a broad picture of the conditions which affect our men from coast to coast. In each instance, regardless of the geography, the net result has been the same . . . Negro soldiers are damned tired of the treatment they are getting. This dislike cannot be attributed to the natural antipathy of the majority of soldiers, white and black, developed out of their efforts to adjust themselves to the rigors and uncertainties of war. Now the Negro soldier is as easily adaptable as any other American soldier. I'd even go as far as to say that he is more adaptable. His lifetime of adjusting himself to the whims and inconsistencies of the American white man substantiates this claim. His resentment then goes much deeper than this. It grows out of the unamerican treatment which plagues his every day while at the same time having to listen to loud voices telling him what a great honor it is to die for his country.

The Negro soldier needs no one to remind him that this is his country. He knows this. But he knows also that there is a lot of unfinished business about individual human decency that he would like to see cleared up before he becomes a corpse for *any* country. To deny him food when he is hungry, dignified transportation when he has to travel, a voice in choosing those who rule him, or just the most fundamental aspects or our proclaimed method of living, and then propagandize him daily into becoming a hero for democracy, is nauseating, to say the least. As one Negro soldier asked me in this respect: "Chaplain, do the white folks who are running this war think we are fools? Or, are they a pack of damned fools themselves? Excuse me, sir, for being profane, but this mess makes a man say a lot of nasty things."

Wide Experience

My tour of active duty which began in Virginia and ended in California, after periods of service in Massachusetts, Michigan, Ohio, and Arizona, has provided me the opportunity not only of observing the Negro soldier under the varied JIM-CROW conditions which make life miserable for him, but because I am a Negro too I have lived under the same conditions and shared his resentment to them. Then too it must be remembered that a chaplain who tries to do a real job does more than sermonize on Sundays. His activities extend into areas concerned with the thoughts and lives of the thousands of men he serves.

How do I know what the Negro soldier thinks? Until a few days ago I was one myself. I have lived with him in his barracks because white officers in Virginia would not permit a colored officer to occupy quarters built by the War Department for its officers. Interesting, to say the least, is a personal experience which grew out of this insult. By a sudden jolt of fate I began my military career at Camp Lee, Virginia. There I immediately discovered the South more vigorously engaged in fighting the Civil War than in training soldiers to resist Hitler. And what was obvious, though nonetheless disturbing, this war was being won . . . as far as the Negro was concerned anyway. Because of the few officers needed with my small outfit less than fifty percent of the available rooms in the officers' barracks were occupied. But there was no room for me. I was therefore assigned quarters with the enlisted men in their barracks. What did it matter that such an assignment infringed upon the freedom of Negro soldiers during their leisure moments? What did it matter how this personal embarrassment and humiliation impaired my morale? My job, it seemed, was to *build* morale, not to *have* it. Anyhow, of what importance is the condition of the Negro soldier's morale to the proper performance of his duty? But of equal importance, what did it matter that army policy prohibiting officers and enlisted men from sharing common quarters except under field conditions was deliberately ignored? The Negro soldier has learned that army policy, binding upon whites, far too often relaxes to his disadvantage. This separation of officers and enlisted men is supported on the grounds that the familiarity involved is destructive to proper discipline. There are other methods of maintaining discipline among Negro soldiers, some of which make Gestapo Chief Himmler look like a rank amateur. What *did* matter in this situation was the doctrine of white supremacy which had to remain undefiled regardless of the cost. To assign a Negro officer quarters in an officers' barracks which housed white officers was unthinkable! Entirely ignored was the fact that this officer by virtue of his military status indicated the same willingness to die for American fair play . . . for democracy.

Exclusive Quarters

After some weeks of this humiliation, which the Negro soldiers resented as much as I did, I was called to meet with the Post Construction Officer. To my utter amazement he showed me the blue prints of plans for the construction of an officers' quarters for my exclusive use. As an added favor to me I was given the privilege of selecting the site where the quarters of the "untouchable" would be erected. But here I made my usual mistake, a mistake which was to plague the remainder of my military service. I did not say: "Thank you white folks for being so kind and generous to this nigger." Instead I summoned the effrontery to remark that this was an unnecessary waste of the taxpayers' money. For this I was immediately labelled as a Negro who not only did not "know his place," but one who was also a base ingrate.

I have been on occasion the only colored officer in the Negro soldier's outfit and therefore the one most likely to hear both his gripes and his legitimate complaints. I have marched with him in the heat of a southern sun, shivered with him in the wake of a New England blizzard, and with him I too have breathed the scorching dust of an Arizona desert. I have laughed with him in his moments of pleasure, heard his confession of the worthlessless of his former life as he embraced the Christian religion, sorrowed with him in the loss of loved ones, and suffered with him under the heel of the dehumanizing

demon of American race prejudice. I know what the Negro soldier thinks, not only because he has told me, but because I know my own thoughts.

Not long ago Secretary of War Stimson revealed in no uncertain terms what the War Department thought about the Negro soldier. I propose to relate in like manner what the Negro soldier thinks about the War Department's War. In the next installment I shall relate what the Negro soldier thinks about the War Department itself. But a word about Mr. Stimson's insult. Negroes throughout the nation along with other decent Americans were scandalized and they were prompt in making their protests known. But let us not be too harsh on a man who is the victim of the "logic" of his own thinking. Anyone sharing the traditional American regard for the colored citizen, and being party to that regard as it daily segregated the Negro soldier and citizen, could not have reached any other conclusion. This is especially true if he had given ear to reports of Army Intelligence on the Negro Soldier.

Dixie Second Front

Mr. Stimson must have been told that the Negro soldier is demoralized, that he does not want to fight—unless a second front is opened in Mississippi, Texas, Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana, or just *anywhere* below the Mason and Dixon Line—that his heart is not in this war. Such a soldier cannot be depended upon to offer up his life against German or Japanese soldiers who know why they are fighting and demonstrate each day their willingness to die for their beliefs. Where are the American soldiers, of any color, who would destroy their own lives rather than fall into the hands of a hated enemy. The Japs did this on Attu. Incidentally, the record of our forces at Anzio and Cassino for 4 months showed that American white troops with only one enemy to fight were hardly super men in face of their German opposition. We might just as well realize that the Negro soldier has two enemies to fight, one foreign and the other at home. Now since public opinion forced the Secretary of War to give some reason for the War Department's refusal to allow Negro soldiers to die for America in some appreciable manner other than in labor battalions and in the "highfalutin Engineers," which is a camouflaged term meaning practically the same thing, Mr. Stimson's hand was called. Those who expected the unvarnished truth about this matter were either dreamers or drunks. Who among our military authorities would admit that the nation's indecent treatment of the Negro soldier had rendered him unfit for combat with a foreign enemy? So following the traditional point of view, since this point of view led to the creation of the dilemma in the first place, the Negro soldier was promptly discredited. Not because he could not master the technique of modern weapons of war—this was the Secretary of War's claim—but because this is the logical stand that the traditional race haters were bound to use in defense of their hypocritical and infamous conduct. Talk about impeding the war effort! What *is* treason anyway?

Out on the Pacific Coast I found young Negroes holding key positions in the industries—the airplane industry to be exact—which produce the most difficult of weapons to master, the army bomber. Other young Negroes are now flying these planes. Still other young Negroes are now prepared to be their navigators. Now it is a commonly accepted fact among honest men and women that no racial group has cornered the market on either intelligence or native ability. This is what the celebrated pamphlet *The Races Of Mankind* would have told a few thousand army officers had it not been banned by stupid people who refuse to recognize the obvious. All Negro soldiers are not graduate engineers. Nor are all white soldiers. All Negro soldiers were not born in that section of the nation, which because it seeks to keep the Negro in the educational gutter, directs that white youth too must wallow in the pig sty of ignorance. But the Honorable Secretary of War has not claimed that white soldiers cannot master the techniques of modern weapons of war. His blanket statement about the Negro soldier's inability in this respect not only insults the thousands of intelligent Negro youth in our armed forces from all sections of the country, but by indirection it classifies them as morons incapable of attaining the intelligence level of the most ignorant southern cracker. What does the Negro soldier think about this? He considers it a vicious attack upon his manhood. And what is more he thinks that the Administration continues to insult him as long as such men are allowed to control his destiny in this war. The Negro soldier will not give his life for the perpetuation of this

Official U. S. Marine Corps Photo

Mr. Stimson was wrong when he said that Negro soldiers could not master the techniques of modern weapons of war. In this photo a Negro gun crew of the U. S. Marines handles one of these complicated weapons.

outright lynching of his ability, nor for the right of domestic nazis to make of him a military scapegoat.

War Aims Hollow

Every factual pronouncement which falls from the lips of Anglo-Saxon war leaders in this conflict lays foundation for the Negro soldier's conviction that this is a war to maintain the white man's right to keep the colored man in social and economic bondage. The Negro soldier is not so dumb as far too many people in authority lead themselves to believe. He is asking a lot of questions. Does the Atlantic Charter apply to colored people now enslaved by the British, Dutch, Portuguese, and other imperialistic powers? Why is our ally Britain silent about the fate of Hong Kong and Singapore in the post war world? Why are the great leaders of India, especially Nehru, kept in prison at the very moment when all India should be rallied against the Japanese invader? Why does our foreign policy fail to make clear America's stand in regard to spilling the blood of its sons to dictate the destiny of people who admittedly have a right to self-determination? But most important of all, the Negro soldier is asking how he can be expected to give his last full measure of devotion for his country when each day, while he wears the uniform of his country, he is insulted, humiliated, and even murdered for attempting to be an American?

My experience with Negro soldiers has led me to oppose the idea that the majority of them consider this a "race war." One must confess, however, that at times they are given strong evidence to the contrary. To say that all Negro soldiers share this or any one point of view is to engage in deliberate falsehood. Many of them think that this is a white man's war, "lock, stock, and barrel." This conclusion is reached in spite of Hitler's treatment of the people in the occupied countries and what the Chinese have suffered at the hands of the Japanese. Like countless thousands of whites this group has listened too intently to the expressed convictions of the "white supremacy boys." Responsibility for their conclusion can be traced to the ravings of such misrepresentatives of the nation as Bilbo, Rankin, "Cotton" Ed Smith and many others of the same litter. "But what about Russia?" you ask them. The immediate answer is that there are good betting odds that Russia will have to fight Britain and the United States before peace actually comes. This group knows too well that everyone willing to face reality knows—that there are far too many people in high places who love Russia less than they hate Nazi Germany. If Russia were not killing so many German soldiers and therefore the only hope at the moment for an Allied victory, the anti-Red voices in this country would be reaching a deafening crescendo. But Russia, these soldiers will tell you, is merely a tool to be used until it can be safely cast aside. Anglo-Saxon pride and a sense of imminent danger make strange bedfellows.

Official U. S. Marine Corps Photo

Negro soldiers have mastered the tank phase of mechanized warfare. Negro Marines members of a tank crew.

Confusion and Bewilderment

Much more strongly entrenched in the Negro soldier's thinking is the firm conviction that Soviet Russia's expulsion of the nazi race-haters from Russian soil and the herculean struggle of the Chinese people are evidence that something far more valuable than concepts of race is involved in this struggle. The freedom of millions of men and women, and countless generations which follow them, is involved . . . possibly his freedom too. The realization of this, however, does not lessen in any great degree his state of confusion and bewilderment. What man who has worn the shackles of slavery would not gladly strike a blow for freedom? The Negro soldier is prevented from striking that blow, at least with great enthusiasm, because freedom for his race during the past eighty years has not gibed with its definition in the dictionary. The march of daily events convince the Negro soldier that his efforts in the struggle for freedom might well result in solidifying the control with which the South now directs and determines the national welfare and vigorously thwarts every effort of scientific progress in the field of human relations. A struggle for freedom which materialized in such a goal would not be worth a single drop of sweat . . . to say nothing about a single drop of blood. As a result the Negro soldier sees himself a miserable pawn in the inexorable hands of a fate which has already stacked the cards against him. He will fight if ordered in contact with the enemy. But this will be a fight for personal survival, a fight for his own life. His fight will hardly be characterized by that spark of enthusiasm which in war raises men to the heights of glory and heroism to which normally they would not dare aspire. Yet who knows but that the absence of this mysterious, though highly essential quality, in the Negro soldier may some day explain the difference between defeat and victory for a potentially great nation? The Negro soldier deplores the existence of such a probability.

One of the great soldiers which has emerged from this war is Lt. Col. Evans F. Carlson, famous for his development of that group of super-marine fighters known as *Carlson's Raiders*. This man not only built this extraordinary fighting outfit but led it in the Makin Island raid which resulted in complete destruction of all enemy military emplacements and annihilation of more than eight hundred Japanese soldiers which constituted the island garrison. Only eighteen of Carlson's Raiders lost their lives. Col. Carlson borrowed the fighting slogan, GUNG HO, from the Chinese Red Army with which he spent many months as a military observer. This experience convinced him that men, although they were hungry, nondescript, and poorly equipped could by living the full meaning of this slogan become unconquerable in the face of overwhelming odds. When he was called upon to train a group of American soldiers in the technique of guerilla warfare he not only made GUNG HO their battle cry but insisted that the deeper significance of this battle cry become the philosophy which undergirded every thought and action of every man. GUNG HO means: WORK TOGETHER . . .

(*Continued on page 299*)

Tusker Respected the Law

By Morton Fineman

A story of the strange irony of law enforcement in an American city

NOT counting Tusker and his wife, and George Nixon, there were twelve of them, all past thirty-five; a few still trim and hard, but most of them paunchy with approaching middle-age; wearing old polo shirts and summer trousers; looking, except for the expression in their eyes, like family men who'd lately risen from a doorstep to walk around the block and had stopped to look at something. Tusker alone wore a hat; a shapeless straw with a colorless band that had seen too many rains to hold its rakishness. Only Tusker was not the kind of man who could wear a rakish hat so the hat suited him as a pinochle game or a few glasses of beer suited him. Their eyes rested now on Tusker's figure—in fact had rested there from the moment they'd gathered, as though his figure alone was the fusing point.

Tusker looked down the dark street lined on both sides with small neat ginko trees that deepened the gloom. High up, a few apartment house windows still gleamed. These, the neon signs of the bars still open, and the illuminated entrances of the apartment houses, were the only patches of light. A late trolley passed and Tusker saw the few people in its stare curiously at the band of men gathered so quietly on the corner. He smiled thinking they must look ominous. But when he turned to the men the smile was gone.

"You got to remember one thing," Tusker said. "We are cooperating with the police. When we catch them, we leave the punishment to the police, understand." Tusker breathed deeply and looked around him at the intent faces. Their immobility betrayed nothing. They might never have even heard him except that Tusker knew they had, and absorbed and more, accepted what he said; not as wisdom; not even as authority, but as common sense. "This isn't a vigilante committee. Anybody has that idea, he better not start out with us."

Tusker's wife was standing beside him, and now she took his hand and pressed it in her own, making him smile. Before Tusker could start talking again, George Nixon said, "Everybody hear what Tusker say. We catch the rascals and we turn them over to the police." George Nixon was a huge Negro, several years younger than anyone else, with hands as strong and large as bear-traps. He, like all the men, was Tusker's neighbor. His truculent voice made the men grin. Tusker, watching them carefully, knew then that everything would be all right. Men who would not listen to you did not grin that way. It was a good sign. Tusker did not want recriminatory violence. They were relaxed and assured and thoughtful, and it made Tusker proud of them.

Tusker had chosen the men carefully. The younger ones, the excitable, the vindictive who reacted happily to physical violence, those, he'd avoided.

In the silence now following Nixon's words, the men were looking again at Tusker, awaiting his final words, his instructions. "Everybody knows where to go, don't they?" Tusker asked. His voice was clear and soft with a calm, patient quality. Tusker was a small man with stringy muscles and narrowed humping shoulders; the intensely dark skin of his harsh-boned face was tightly furrowed, and in spite of the large lips, his mouth had a resolute deceptive firmness.

"My wife," Tusker continued—and the knowledge of what he was about to say brought a dryness in his chest—"will be walking through the section. She'll have a whistle. If they bother her she'll blow once on the whistle." The dryness seemed to be filling his chest, hurting as if the naked bone were being scraped. He thought: I don't want her to do this; God, I don't want to take a chance on anything happening to her. Then he said, "When you hear that whistle," his voice took on a harshness: "The men closest to her, get there. Get there fast," he added carefully. "In case they get away, you signal the direction they are going. Everybody know the signals?" He waited. "Anybody don't know them?"

Then one of the men asked, "Suppose they scatter?"

"Blow one long and short and everybody will spread out so they don't get by," Tusker explained. "Anybody starts to get excited, just remember there are fourteen of us, and at the most three or four of them."

"Nobody is going to get scared," the man said. "Don't worry about that, Tusker."

"I'm not," Tusker said. He grined at them and tugged the floppy hat he wore.

The men broke up slowly, forming into small groups of three each. When they reached the area they were to cover, each man would take up a separate station in one of the apartment house entrances. He would be off the street, but still able to observe whoever walked by. Tusker, his wife, and Nixon remained, watching them go.

"In five minutes," Tusker said to his wife, "you can start. You scared?" he asked.

She nodded her head. "A little."

"Jesus," Tusker murmured. "I don't like to let you do it."

"Somebody has to do it," she replied.

"Yeah," Tusker muttered soberly. "Only no man likes to see his wife go out and invite somebody to bust open her skull."

Tusker's wife took both his hands firmly. "You don't worry about it," she stated. "You said yourself there are more of us than there are of them."

"It won't take up a minute for one of them to hurt you," Tusker said slowly, looking at her all the time.

She was an erect, smooth-bodied woman, taller and bigger than Tusker, just starting to get heavy, and her skin was a light unblemished brown.

"If they do anything to you, I'll forget about taking them to the police," Tusker said.

"No, you won't," she said. "I know you." She let go of his hands and put her fingers on his small taut cheeks, turned up his face, and kissed him. "You stop worrying about this girl."

"You better get started," Tusker told her.

"I love you, Tusk," she said.

"George can hear you," Tusker moved with embarrassment.

"I don't care," she said. "George knows I love you."

"You ought to get started."

"You know why I love you so much?" she demanded.

Tusker laughed rapidly. "Why don't you get started?"

"Because you're decent," his wife murmured. "Because you're a decent, intelligent and respectable citizen. That's why."

"Jesus Christ," Tusker said, "This is no place for that kind of talk."

"Any place is all right," she said. "When I think I might have married a man that turned out to be a bum and a coward, I feel like I'm falling in love with you all over again."

She walked away with her beautifully erect carriage, the long legs striding cleanly; not mincing the way most women walked as if they were ashamed of the rhythm of their bodies.

Tusker watched her, the dryness in his chest creeping now through his throat and bringing with it a thickness in his mouth and a trembling in his stomach, worrying for her well-being, which he could not stop, nor with which he could even begin to cope. "Well, George," Tusker said, "Now all we got to

do is wait."

Nixon lit a cigarette. "That's all."

"It should take her about ten minutes to walk through the section," Tusker declared reflectively.

"Suppose nothing happens?" Nixon asked.

Tusker chuckled shortly. "Then she's going to wait for a street car. This time of night they run every twenty-five minutes."

Tusker had organized everything carefully; he'd persuaded the superintendents of the apartment houses to permit the men to stay in the lobbies of the buildings. Only the police had been difficult to convince in the beginning, Tusker remembered.

"Look," he had said to the sceptical police lieutenant who eyed him from behind the broad-glass topped desk. "We're trying to cooperate with the police, as citizens; we got a right to offer our help to prevent trouble."

"Nobody is saying you ain't, Mr. Tusker," the lieutenant had said with only the barest trace of resentment in his voice at having to explain anything to this visitor; or at having to speak in a placating fashion. He let Tusker remain standing. "You start taking extra-legal steps and the first thing you know there is real trouble."

"There's trouble enough now," Tusker told him. "We can do the whole thing very quietly."

The lieutenant had small grey eyes and a large pink skinned face. He kept mopping his chin and mouth, and whenever Tusker said anything, he seemed to be listening to the whirring noise made by the small fan on the corner of his desk, and not to Tusker's patient voice, saying again: "You know how trouble can start from a thing like this, real ugly trouble."

"Somebody loses his head and a street fight starts," the police lieutenant murmured as if he were reading a report aloud to himself of unassailable facts. "The first thing happens, the papers start talking about Negroes rioting in the streets in a white neighborhood and right away people want to know what the hell happened to the police who were supposed to be protecting life and property."

"Nobody is going to lose his head."

The lieutenant fixed hard disbelieving eyes on Tusker's calm face. "How do you know? How can you say that in advance?"

Tusker wanted to swear. "Because the men know what the score is; they know what they're supposed to be doing out there."

"You get a mob started, they forget about scores," the other man said. "I been in this business for fifteen years; mobs are all alike."

"This won't be a mob," Tusker explained.

The other man twisted his handkerchief, drawing it over his mouth and scowling as he stared at Tusker.

"You know what happened in other places already," Tusker went on; "we're only trying to prevent the same thing here."

The police lieutenant squirmed in his bright oak chair, looking uncomfortable in the warm blue uniform he wore, pulling at the folds of his collar, his grey eyes inspecting the dark imperturbable figure of Tusker standing before him with quiet insistence. For a moment he enjoyed thinking of what he would do if Tusker were ever brought in on an assault charge. When they brought a zig in for snatching a pocketbook or using a knife, then you could do something, he thought. Silently he damned everything that started people worrying about their rights and coming around as citizens.

"We got a right to try to prevent trouble," he heard Tusker saying.

"Jesus Christ," he declared abruptly. "Who said you didn't have?"

Tusker smiled. "Nobody."

"I'll let you try it for a couple of nights," the lieutenant muttered finally. He peered accusingly at Tusker. "Only damn it if there is any trouble I'll hold you responsible."

"Won't be any trouble," Tusker answered.

"I won't depend on your word," the other man stated deliberately. . . .

"When you stop to think about it," Nixon was saying, "why the hell should we be walking the streets one o'clock in the morning trying to catch a couple of guys? What we got a police department for?"

Nixon's gruffly petulant voice made Tusker smile wryly. The waiting was getting on both their nerves. Now at least the dryness in his chest was gone, and his wife's self-assurance, her faith in him and her pride in what he was doing left him with a feeling of tenderness for her, and ease with himself.

"How many times white guys bother women in the streets and nobody gets excited?" Nixon declared angrily. "Jesus there's plenty of white bastards."

"Nobody is excited," Tusker said.

"You know what I mean," Nixon told him.

"I know what you mean all right," Tusker answered.

After a little while Nixon asked in a harshly reflective voice, "You think, Tusker, we'll have a thing like in Detroit here?"

"Might happen," Tusker murmured. "Seems like damn few people care."

"What the hell's the matter with people anyway? Whyn't they let each other alone?" Nixon declared. The hard skin of his hands made a scarping sound as he rubbed them together. "Just don't let any white bastard start something with me, that's all."

"Be more than one if it starts," Tusker reminded him.

"Yeah," Nixon replied with a kind of helplessness, as if this knowledge had pushed all the sudden aggressiveness out of his system. "What the hell are we going to do, Tusker?" he asked.

Tusker remained silent. From one of the bars that was still open he could hear the saccharine voice of a singer, mewing of a love going round and round. But it was a thin voice like an aftermath, lost in this sleeping world, and the commonplace words it uttered died in the darkness. A sleeping world, Tusker thought, full of a rising anonymous fear . . . . of our little ugly crammed world that they never give a second thought to . . . . except to be afraid of . . . . lying within and beyond the shadows, Tusker thought.

"They're afraid of us, George," Tusker murmured.

"Now you tell me what the hell for," George asked.

"That's what makes you laugh—the way you know they're afraid of you."

"It don't make me laugh," Nixon said.

The blasting sound of the whistle came suddenly, high and sustained with an eartearing, toneless quality. Even as the whistle continued, Tusker and Nixon started to run. Nixon paced Tusker by several yards who was panting heavily from running this way at top speed. "That's my wife," he yelled to Nixon. "Jesus." Nixon did not answer.

The blowing of the whistle continued, its pitch varying now, stopping for a second and then starting afresh with its shrill, hysterically compelling alarm. Nixon sprinted even harder, leaving Tusker who was running as fast as he could and murmuring, "Jesus, Jesus . . ." even farther behind.

The fast beating of feet on the hot pavements increased as the other men raced from the apartment house lobbies toward the sound of the whistling. . . . .

All the men were panting; and it made a hissing noise like escaping steam. They held on tightly to the three men they'd caught; their grasps rough and savage. Their faces were silent as they watched Tusker's wife who was crying, her mouth still twisted with the last traces of pain; looking at the torn front of her dress and the smear of blood drying on her chin. All of them caught under the wide arc of yellow light cast down by the street-lamp.

"One of them got away," Nixon said. He hovered close to the men they'd caught, his presence a threat against flight, formidable, harsh-faced, but without Tusker's deep outrage or anger.

"What'd they do?" Tusker asked his wife.

"One of them slammed me across the belly," she explained. "Jesus, I feel like I was busted in half." She pressed a hand tentatively against her mid-section, making a face.

"Ralph," Tusker called one of the men, "you take her home in your car."

Ralph took her arm and began to lead her away gently. But she stopped him and went to Tusker and kissed him. "I'm all right," she said. "I don't want you to worry about me."

"What you say, Tusker?" Nixon broke in, "you want to bounce them around a little?"

"You do what you said you were going to do," Tusker's wife told him. "You stop talking like a bum on a corner," she told

(*Continued on page 299*)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

PHILADELPHIA PRESS CONDEMNED PTC STRIKE: The Philadelphia daily press was unanimous in its condemnation of the PTC strikers as well as the un-American attitude of their leaders. The *Record* was first to allocate front-page, headline position to an open letter declaring the strike "disgraceful." After exposing the fake issues advanced by McMenamin, Carney, and other strike leaders, the *Record* added: "The strike was inspired by the underground, under cover activity of individuals who day by day poured race hatred into their ears [the strikers]. These men [the leaders] artfully aroused their emotions, lied to them about the seniority clause in their contract, misrepresented the Government agencies which were striving to overcome the manpower shortage by upgrading Negro employees." Then adding that the strike situation was a lesson in tolerance and common sense, the editorial further states: "Right in these atatcks and vandalism we get an example of the way hate feeds on hate, how prejudice disrupts and destroys. It is such hatreds and mob spirit which have consumed Europe. Our job is to fight them here as our soldiers fight them there."

The *Inquirer* denounced the strikers in two editorials, "Un-American and Intolerable" and "End this Outrageous Strike!" The latter emphasized: "In walking out because a few Negroes were upgraded by the PTC, the operators disavowed the cause of freedom for which their country, even their own sons are fighting. If they were attempting to gain rescinding by PTC of its agreement, eliminating the color line, the strikers were in effect attempting to put themselves above the Government of the United States. And whatever their opinion they had no justification for their shockingly un-American, undemocratic reprisal."

And according to the *Bulletin*, the strike was an outrage, "an affront to millions, a slap in the face to decent employer-employee relations."

Commenting on these editorials, Walter White said: "It is noteworthy that in no instance was there evident at any time any division in editorial thought as to the extreme necessity for immediate government intervention, severity of punishment of strike leaders instigating subversive propaganda, necessity for the establishment now of the FEPC as a precedent for the elimination of jim crow in the upgrading of Negro workers, and in constant reminding of the fact that the upgrading of Negroes has been proved successful in all communities where FEPC directives have been carried out."

NAACP IN PTC STRIKE: During the strike of the Philadelphia Transportation Company employees, in August, the NAACP was in the thick of the dispute. The Philadelphia branch, with Theodore Spaulding president, and Mrs. Carolyn D. Moore, executive secretary, was on the job. Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary, went to Philadelphia a few hours after the strike started and remained until the federal government took over. Walter White and Leslie Perry came up from Washington and kept in contact with federal officials.

It was the Philadelphia branch that had filed the original complaint in PTC discrimination in upgrading Negro workers. And the branch kept in continuous contact with developments throughout the strike. Tuesday night, August 1, Theodore Spaulding and Roy Wilkins toured north, south, and west Philadelphia areas making personal investigations of sporadic hooliganism and racial clashes. Hundreds of telephone calls and telegrams were handled through the branch, which acted as the coordinating agency of all groups interested in the problems presented by the strike. More than 100,000 leaflets were distributed by the branch Wednesday night, August 2. President Spaulding also participated in a half-hour radio program over station WCAU along with mayor Bernard Samuels and representatives of the War Manpower Commission and FEPC. On the second day of the strike the branch applied for permission to send out two sound trucks to broadcast information on developments and to urge persons to refrain from violence, but the city officials refused to grant permits for the trucks to operate.

JERSEY TELEPHONE COMPANY ELIMINATES DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES: Adjustment and elimination of discriminatory practices in the hiring of Negroes in a division of the Federal Telephone and Radio Corporation, Newark, N. J., was reported to the NAACP in August by the regional office of FEPC.

PACIFIC SOLDIERS DONATE $1,895.59 TO NAACP: Contributions amounting to $1,-895.59 sent by soldiers and officers in the Pacific area to field secretary Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin were forwarded to the national office. The donation is in appreciation of the Associations work and was made through the regimental chaplain, Andrew L. Johnson, and members of the 25th Infantry Regiment.

Soldiers in Burma donated $200.00 to the Association, and a check for $1,465.68 was received from staff officers and soldiers in Italy.

NEW RED CROSS HEAD AND THE BLOOD BANK: When Basil O'Connor was appointed the new head of the American Red Cross, Walter White sent him a congratulatory message and also urged the immediate reversal of the policy of segregating white and Negro blood plasma. "Courageous action by the Red Cross in reversing its present policy will, we know," wrote Mr. White, "result in the immediate donating of blood by many hundreds of Americans, Negro and white, who want to do their utmost but who have been stopped by the segregation policy of the American Red Cross, the Army, and the Navy."

In reply to Mr. White's request that the blood plasma segregation policy be abandoned, Mr. O'Connor wrote that "From the point of view of all the people of the United States, the present arrangement is the best possible in all of the circumstances."

Mr. O'Connor is a trustee and executive chairman of the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation, a senior member in the law firm of O'Connor and Farber, and was from 1925 to 1933 the law partner of President Roosevelt.

NAACP BOARD AFFIRMS RIGHT TO CHALLENGE PARTIES: At a special meeting on Monday, July 31, the national board of directors of the NAACP reaffirmed the continued nonpartisan political position of the Association as restated by the annual conference in Chicago in July. The board approved and endorsed the critical comment of its secretary, Walter White, upon both the Republican and Democratic national platforms, and expressed the intention of the Association to continue to challenge both parties on the issues of major concern to Negroes and the common man generally. The board further expressed the intention of the Association to call upon both parties and their national leadership in a demand for action in Congress between now and the November elections upon those domestic issues vitally affecting the interests of common people.

Branch News

ALABAMA: A special meeting of the Mobile branch was held in July at the Metropolitan AME church to hear reports on the membership campaign.

ARIZONA: Rev. Edwin S. Lane, dean of Trinity Episcopal Cathedral, was principal speaker at a civil rights meeting of the Phoenix branch in July.

ARKANSAS: More than fifty delegates representing nine local organizations organized the Arkansas State Congress of the NAACP in July. Officers elected were Rev. Taylor

PRESIDENTS OF SOME OF OUR NAACP BRANCHES

Willus R. Phillips
Memphis, Tenn.

Ben Greene
Taylor's, S. C.

Leon R. Harris
Tri-City, Ill.

Leroy Ramsey
Pontiac, Mich.

Rev. B. B. Evans
Knoxville, Tenn.

George W. Martin
Clairton, Pa.

Rev. A. N. Carter
Tulare, Calif.

Ed. Mitchell
Drumright, Okla.

H. W. Burson
Elkhart, Ind.

Rev. W. H. Simmons
Beaufort, S. C.

Mrs. Victory Wright
Parsons, Kansas

Roosevelt Bettie
Tippecanoe, Ind.

John C. Grantham
Leigh Valley, Pa.

Alfred H. Tavernier
Springfield, Mass.

Mrs. Marie Medley
Loudon County, Va.

Dr. Joyce Yerwood
Greenwich, Conn.

Dr. Edna L. Griffin
Pasadena, Calif.

Mrs. W. E. Mitchell
Ardmore, Okla.

Waverly B. Lockett
Hopewell, Va.

L. W. Fairchild
Butler County, Mo.

William Glenn
Grand Rapids, Mich.

Delpha A. Terry
Blair County, Pa.

Melton H. Stevens
Independence, Kans.

Frank E. Jenkins
Troy, N. Y.

of Little Rock, president; Dr. H. A. Rhinehart of Warren, vice-president; Mrs. A. M. Parker of Pine Bluff, secretary; Miss E. I. Copeland of Little Rock, assistant secretary; Rev. A. Reed of Dermott, treasurer. Board directors are Dr. R. C. Woods of Hot Springs, Dr. E. A. Denard of Fort Smith, Rev. J. E. Shepard of Marianna, Rev. J. I. Bell of Postelle, and W. L. Jarrett of Morrilton.

CALIFORNIA: Pressure of outside business has caused the resignation of Dr. Edward A. Bailey as president of the San Diego branch. Vice-president Mercer Z. Ray will serve out the unexpired term until November.

Membership drive of the Los Angeles branch has been carried to a successful conclusion under the direction of Clarence R. Johnson. In July the branch had reported eighty-two percent of its national quota.

CONNECTICUT: Principal speaker at a recent meeting of the Waterbury branch was Renato Riccuti of the CIO political action committee.

KANSAS: Guest speaker at the July meeting of the Lawrence branch was Rev. Harold G. Barr.

Theodore E. Brown, field investigator of the Kansas regional office of FEPC, was principal speaker at a mass meeting of the Topeka branch in July. Other speakers were Mrs. Mattie L. McIntosh, Capt. Boliver E. Watkins, William M. Bradshaw, and John M. Wright.

Guest speaker at the July meeting of the Parsons branch was Carl R. Johnson, president of the Kansas City branch. Mr. Johnson is an active church and civic worker in Kansas City and a member of the Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity.

NEW JERSEY: Prime objectives of the Long Branch chapter are the securing of jobs for Negroes in the stores on Broadway and forcing grocers in Negro neighborhoods to discontinue ceiling violations.

Problems of discrimination in local restaurants was the topic of discussion at the July meeting of the Gloucester-Salem county branch. A committee was appointed to look into the matter and to see that the civil rights law of the state is observed.

A new precedent was set when Miss Clara L. Smith, of the Paterson branch, addressed a group of teachers and welfare workers at the summer session of the New Jersey State Teachers College at Paterson. The invitation was extended Miss Smith by one of her former teachers, Dr. M. Karp, professor of English and social studies and head of the child guidance clinic of the college. Miss Smith is a teacher of the St. Augustine Presbyterian church Sunday school, an outstanding civic worker, and has served as secretary of the Paterson branch since its revival in 1939.

NEW YORK: The big-brother-big-sister committee of the New Rochelle branch met in July to work out plans for high school students in need of assistance with their studies.

Rev. Isiah P. Pogue, Jr., and Israel G. Jacobsen, president and vice-president respectively of the Rochester branch attended the Wartime conference of the NAACP in Chicago in July.

In July the Troy branch held a program to honor chapter members who had graduated this year from public and high school. Graduates honored were Warren Gibson, Jacqueline Lawyer, Dorothy Seymore, William Fitch, Donald Johnson, and Albert Cole. Mrs. Maud King of Waterford addressed the graduates, urging them to choose their goal early in life and to aim for that goal with will power and determination.

NORTH CAROLINA: At the July monthly meeting of the Charlotte branch awards were made to membership campaign workers.

OHIO: Executive board of the Cleveland branch went on record in July as opposing the construction of a new 100-bed hospital in the Cedar-Central area. The new hospital is sponsored by the Forest City Hospital Association. Dr. U. G. Mason, a prominent Negro physician, heads the association whose board of trustees includes both white and Negro members.

Sponsors of the Forest City project claim it will be operated as an interracial unit, but the branch executive board declared the proposed unit would become known as a Negro hospital and break the present practice of permitting Negro physicians to train and practice at other hospitals in Cleveland. E. L. Worthington, chairman of the joint hospital committe, said that the NAACP's action would not alter present plans for the fund raising drive, and denied the contention that the new hospital would lead to segregation.

Welfare director Herbert R. Mooney has asserted that racial discrimination played no part in the dismissal of two Cincinnati Negro investigators from the division of aid for the aged. The Cincinnati branch had protested the discharge in June of Mrs. Lillian Mogue and Mrs. Ruth Thomas, declaring discrimination had been the basis for their removal. In a written reply, Mooney told the branch that he was confident that Karl R. Babb, division chief, had "acted without any prejudice because of their being colored persons" in dismissing the investigators.

SOUTH CAROLINA: The Florence branch secured five hundred and twenty-one members during the national membership campaign, two hundred and twenty-one more than the quota assigned. William Prioleau, Mrs. Gladys Williams, Mrs. Charlotte Tatum, Mrs. Andrew Huggins, and Green did outstanding work as captains. Others who gave untiringly of their efforts were Mrs. Frances Burnett, Julius Planter, Edmund Smoot, Mrs. Daisy Brailey, Mrs. Florida Washington, and Miss Camille C. Levy. The branch is now engaged in a county-wide campaign to get qualified adults registered in order that they may vote in the coming November election.

The Sumter branch filed a protest with Governor Olin D. Johnston against the scheduled execution of a 14-year-old Negro boy for the slaying of a white girl. The boy,

YOUTH UNITY WEEK

Governor Saltonstall of Massachusetts issuing the proclamation of youth unity week sponsored by the youth for victory council, an organization of greater Boston youth organizations. Left to right: Phyllis Mitchell (NAACP), Beverly Franklin (Youth for Victory), Governor Saltonstall, Yvonne Husbands (B.U.), and Annie Reid (YWCA).

MORE PICTURES OF SOME OF OUR BRANCH PRESIDENTS

John F. Lopez
Providence, R. I.

Edward J. Cox
Columbus, Ohio

Rev. Leroy C. McGee
Lima, Ohio

W. M. Smith
Wichita, Kans.

Houston Dutton
Lake Charles, La.

Rev. J. James Clow
Portland, Oregon

Mrs. Flossie Herd
Oxford, Ohio

M. Union
Albion, Mich.

Edward Bailey
San Diego, Calif.

Hollis King
Kokomo, Ind.

Rev. F. D. Gholston
Harrisburg, Pa.

Curtis Thomas
Baytown, Texas

Rev. A. Reed
Dermott, Ark.

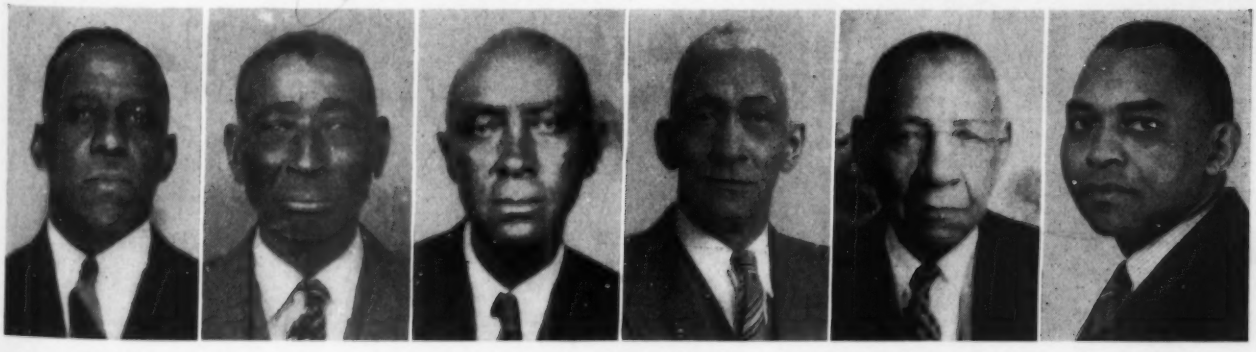
Luke J. Winston
Decatur, Ill.

Benjamin J. Stanley
Baton Rouge, La.

Dr. David W. Anthony
Princeton, N. J.

Mrs. George D. Bowks
Albany, N. Y.

Leon Gordie
Akron, Ohio



Rev. S. L. Massie
New Kent, Va.

A. L. Barnett
Haynes, Okla.

E. M. McAfee
St. Clara County, Ala.

Vernon G. Ward
Flushing, N. Y.

Andrew Mayberry
Hammond, Ind.

David Morgan
LaMott, Pa.

(This is a continuing feature and *The Crisis* will carry more pictures of branch presidents in subsequent issues.)

George Junius Stinney of Alcolu, was sentenced to die for the slaying of two girls, 11 and 8 years old respectively, who were beaten to death with a railroad spike. The branch said the execution of Stinney would be a blot on South Carolina's record, but the governor said that he had studied the case and found no reason to intervene.

PENNSYLVANIA: The Philadelphia branch during the two months of the recent national membership campaign solicited more than 12,000 members and collected $18,000, including nearly 3,000 *Crisis* subscribers. Mrs. Katie M. Greene was the highest producer among captains and Miss Bowie led the divisions by producing more than one-half of the total number of members and money brought in.

The labor committee of the branch conducted the first of a series of public meetings and discussions on Negro labor at the YMCA, September 24.

A riot involving approximately 200 white and Negro boys in Darby in July was investigated by members of the sectional development committee of the branch. The flareup stemmed from an argument in a Darby theatre between two patrons, one Negro and the other white. Friends of the individuals involved augmented their ranks and returned the next evening to finish the job. Volunteer firemen of Darby, however, scattered the crowd with the use of fire hose. No arrests were made.

Full support of the Philadelphia branch was given the Department of Housing and Sanitation in its drive to clean up the city's tenements. The branch also investigated the shooting by a policeman of 15-year-old James Harmon.

VIRGINIA: Negro delegates refused official recognition at the State Democratic convention in Roanoke plan to carry the matter to the NAACP, according to an announcement of Dr. J. M. Tinsley, regional representative. Four Negro delegates from Newport News and three from Roanoke were not seated officially after the credentials committee reported a resolution to seat only those delegates elected in accordance with the party plan, which uses the term "white persons" in describing qualifications for membership.

Youth Council News

NEW COUNCILS: The nation-wide membership campaign gave impetus to the organization of youth councils in many of the branches during June. At the July meeting of the board of directors charters were granted to:

New Haven, Conn.; Cumberland, Va.; Youngstown, Ohio; Morgantown, W. Va.; York, Pa.; Lynchburg, Va.; Kingstree, S. C.; Spartanburg, S. C.; Atlantic City, N. J.; Baltimore, Md.; San Francisco, Cal.; Jersey City, N. J.; Seattle, Wash.; Pontiac, Mich.; Richmond, Va.; Aiken, S. C.; Rockhill, S. C.; Lake Wales, Fla.; W. A. C. Hughes Unit; Ralph Young Unit; Mary McLeod Bethune-Cookman Unit; Lillie M. Jackson No. 1 Unit.

YOUTH CONFERENCE: College chapters and youth councils will meet in a joint youth conference on the campus of Virginia Union University. There will be a change in the original dates of November 3, 4, and 5 due to the proximity to election day, to November 17, 18, and 19.

TEXAS STATE CONFERENCE OF YOUTH COUNCILS: Youth councils of Texas organized recently into a state conference at a meeting in Dallas, Texas. Addresses were delivered to the group by Rev. A. A. Lucas, president of the Houston Branch, Professor Hobart Jarrett of Langston University and youth director of the Oklahoma state conference and Mr. Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the *Black Dispatch*.

Subjects in panel discussions were "Our Chances for Justice in the Courts," "The Economic Status of the Negro," "Civil Rights and Educational Opportunities." Atty. C. B. Bunkley and Prof. H. C. Johnson were discussion leaders.

Miss Rosie C. Neyland, state director of youth councils, gave an informative presentation of "New Ideas in Youth Council Organizing and Building."

Officers elected for the ensuing year were Mr. Grover Washington, Dallas, president; Mr. Lark R. Jones, Houston, vice-president; Mrs. Willie Mae Merritt, Galveston, secre-

(*Continued on page* 302)

YOUTH COUNCIL MEMBERS CALLING ON JUDGE HASTIE

A group of youth council members called upon Judge Hastie for an informal discussion while he was in Louisville, Ky. Left to right: L. N. Sedwick, sponsor, Violet Beard, Katherine Burton, Minnie Harrison, president, Mary E. James, Lina Belle Laine, Mary A. Woolfolk and Judge Hastie.

What the Negro Soldier Thinks

(*Continued from page 291*)

WORK IN HARMONY.

USA Lacks Gung Ho

The nation's utter lack of this essential spirit would seem to direct that it be made our national battle cry on both the military and home fronts. In fact GUNG HO could with great wisdom be extended to comprise the entire war effort of the United Nations. It would pay far greater dividends than the existing pattern of suspicion and dissension. Hats off then to a great soldier who was first a great man. The inspired feats of Carlson's Raiders have made military history, and with the passing of time will take on legendary dimensions. Said Col. Carlson: "My men, who are professionally competent, *know* why they are fighting."

The young Americans who followed this leader were not Negroes. How could they have been if honest answers were given to the following questions which Col. Carlson asked each man before accepting him: "Do you know why this war is being fought? What do you expect the world to be like after this war? Do you think the American dream of the post war world is worth suffering for as much as you will probably have to suffer?" Can't you hear the Negro soldier ask the Colonel: "Sir, are you all right?" The answer contained in this contemporary colloquialism would not be a flippant answer. Negro soldiers want to be heroes just like their white comrades; they want to distinguish themselves for the land they love. But most of all they want to be given the opportunity to become *real soldiers;* they want to be able to find clarity out of the maze of confusion and contradiction from which this love for country grows.

In spite of his frustration the Negro soldier sees a New World A-Coming. But he hasn't read about it in anybody's book. He sees its light beginning to break across the dark and distant horizon of time and events. It won't dawn tomorrow, nor on any tomorrow for a long time to come. This knowledge makes him sad. But that light has begun to shine, dimly 'tis true, and the darkness of man's inhumanity will not prevail against it because it is the light of determined millions of men and women marching toward freedom. That light is burning in the hearts of Russia's intrepid millions and brightens the path of the victorious Red Army. That light has provided the spark of warm hope which has kept the valiant millions of Chinese from capitulating to a superior military power. That light is slowly penetrating the darkness of India's miserable millions, causing an unmistakable urge toward freedom that will ultimately destroy all opposition.

That light now burning weakly will on some not too far distant tomorrow burst into a consuming flame in the hearts of more than a billion darker people. Thus will be created a power for good so intense in our rapidly shrinking world that human debasement can no longer exist anywhere. The Negro soldier sees this light and it quickens his pulse . . . yes, in spite of little minds now wielding big clubs trying to hold back the dawn.

The Negro soldier thinks . . . !

Tusker and the Law

(*Continued from page 293*)

Nixon.

"Sure I want to," Tusker said bitterly. "But I'm not going to. Like my wife says, we ain't bums on a corner getting even."

Tusker's wife smiled at him. "I'll go home now; I'll let Ralph take me home now, Tusk."

"A couple of you boys bring your cars around and we'll take these guys back to the police station," Tusker said.

He looked at the men they'd caught, telling himself that what he was doing was the right thing—not beating them up pointlessly—using the machinery of citizens to invoke a just punishment; hoping that it would awake at last and function not with the anonymous pressure of fear but with temperance and dignity. Tusker looked at all of them, breathing hard, silent, the captured and the captors; now without pride or anger; but with sympathy spacious enough for all of them.

Negro Soldiers Handle Ordnance Job

In supplying the fabulous amount of ammunition needed by our fighting units, Negro ordnance troops are handling considerably more than half the total ordnance job in the European theatre of operations.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorneys outside their home towns. THE CRISIS maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizenship rights.

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129 W. 3rd St., Los Angeles 13
Telephone: VAndyne 1764

H. L. Richardson
1557 7th Street, Oakland
Telephone: 5998

Marshall Denton, Jr.
3429 S. Central Ave.
Los Angeles 11

DELAWARE

Louis L. Redding
1032 French St., Wilmington
Telephone: 3-1924

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

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1609 First St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Telephone: North 7343

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Telephone: Cal-4968-9

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East Chicago (Direct mail to
520 East 35th St.
Telephone: OAkland 6749

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Telephone: Fairfax 3867

MICHIGAN

Floyd H. Skinner
Michigan at Monroe Avenue, Grand Rapids
Telephone: 8-9042

MISSOURI

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2103A Market St., St. Louis

NEW JERSEY

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23 Howard St., Newark
Telephone: MA 3-4709

Robert Burk Johnson
300 Broadway, Room 603, Camden
Telephone: Camden 0110

NEW YORK

William T. Andrews
1 West 125th St., New York, N. Y.
Telephone: LEhigh 4-0989

William T. Garvin
217 W. 125th St., New York
Telephone: ACademy 2-9260

Norman B. Johnson
41 Albany Avenue, Brooklyn 43
Telephone: SLocum 6-4760

OHIO

Harry E. Davis
202-6 Engineers Bldg., Cleveland
Telephone: MA-1320

Jesse D. Locker
612 W. 9th St., Cincinnati, O.
Telephone: CH 5171

PENNSYLVANIA

Theodore Spaulding
425 South Broad St., Philadelphia
Telephone: Pennypacker 4834

Fitzhugh Lee Styles
2200 West Columbia Ave., Philadelphia
Telephone: Stevenson 6182

Book Review

TIMELESS JOHN BROWN

John Brown, 1800-1859: A Biography Fifty Years After. **By Oswald Garrison Villard. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943. ix+589 p., notes, appendices, addenda, bibliography. $5.00.**

A country engaged in a bitter conflict with foreign enemies finds it psychologically rewarding to recall its past greatness. The current interst by Americans in their country's history is an intensified desire to examine anew the question: What was America? If in a time of crisis a nation's basic culture crops out, the question takes on added significance. The answer may be furnished in part by the study of an individual whose career symbolized one aspect of the sweep of historic forces. Among the few who achieved such national immortality was John Brown, the personification of uncompromising and armed resistance to slavery.

The biography of this timeless figure is told by Oswald Garrison Villard. The bare facts are soon recited. Brown was born in Connecticut, of a line of hardworking, frugal, religious forbears. When he was five, his father moved to Ohio, then in an early pioneer stage. Maturity settled early upon the boy; his mother died when he was eight. His formal schooling was meagre in a region where the paramount consideration was taming the wilderness. Brown's first marriage took place in 1820; his children found him a stern parent, but one who inspired love and respect. A typical nineteenth century American in one respect, Brown was a jack-of-all trades. But he had a poor business head, and his enterprises generally wound up in bankruptcy.

Brown's interest in the Negro dated from the middle 'thirties when he proposed to take a Negro boy, preferably a slave, into his family and "bring him up as one of our own." By the late 'forties, Brown had come to the conclusion that slavery was not to be undone simply by educating individual Negroes. In an essay contributed to the Negro periodical, *The Ram's Horn*, Brown advised his readers that more was to be gained by resisting brutal aggression than by "tamely submitting to every species of indignity contempt & wrong. . . ." Following the passage of the fugitive slave law of 1850, Brown organized a League of Gileadites composed of Negroes who, reminiscent of the New York Vigilante Committee founded fifteen years earlier by David Ruggles, were pledged to resist slave-catchers who came North in search of runaways.

Brown's conviction that slavery was war, and hence must be opposed by force of arms, led him, in 1855, to Kansas, then the scene of bitter political conflict between the free-soil and pro-slavery groups. When the free-soil settlers of Lawrence were attacked, their appeal for aid was heeded by Brown who led one of the volunteer groups that went to the rescue. Brown's belief that "without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sin" prompted him the following year to lead a retaliatory party which killed five pro-slavery men on Pottawomie Creek.

The last three years of Brown's life were spent mainly in soliciting funds from Eastern friends of the cause, and in planning a method of attack against slavery. In the spring of 1858, the broad outlines of his final plans took shape in Brown's mind. These plans were put into operation in October, 1859. As Commander-in-Chief of the Provisional Army, Brown and twenty-one men-at-arms, five of them Negroes, attempted to seize a government arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. Lacking a clear and definite plan of campaign, and unsupported by an uprising among the slaves, Brown's raid was quickly suppressed. The leader was imprisoned in Charlestown. One week after his capture he was put to trial, charged with treason against the state of Virginia. On October 31, the jury returned a verdict of guilty; two days later the judge pronounced a sentence of death by hanging. During the thirty day interval between the sentence and the execution, Brown bore himself with great serenity and fortitude. His execution was marked by the same calmness of spirit; secure in the conviction of his righteousness, Brown unflinchingly ascended the scaffold and in erect posture awaited the death signal.

The author of this stirring biography brought to his subject a humanitarian's sympathy for a champion of the oppressed. Unlike Brown, Villard was born to wealth and social position. But he shared with Brown a crusading urge. The grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, Villard, unlike many other third generation offspring of reforming forbears, kept alive the family tradition of disinterested public service. When he wrote *John Brown* in 1910, Villard was one of the founders of the N. A. A. C. P., and the high-principled editor of the New York *Evening Post*, which under his leadership proved itself a powerful foe of injustice. Subsequently, 1918-1932, Villard was owner of the liberal weekly, *The Nation*, which under his editorship continued to exercise a wide influence in the formation of informed public opinion.

Because Villard shared with Brown a spiritual kinship, it might be expected that his biography would bear the aspect of a continuous eulogy. Not so. Villard's treatment, although sympathetic, is a factual presentation, respectful of evidence, heavily documented, and with no effort to gloss over Brown's defects in character or tactics. The study is a piece of sound and honest scholarship, although the professional school of historians might question Villard's insistence, in the closing chapters, in hammering the fact that Brown's death was a portent, destined to hail spectacular events. The closely packed detail and the lengthy quotations make demands on the reader. But the persevering will be amply rewarded by Villard's moving literary power, particularly in chapters II, V, and XI through XV.

Despite its excellences, Villard's work is not up-to-date. The book is now in its fifth printing, but it remains essentially, as its title indicates, a biography fifty years after, although Brown has now been dead nearly eighty-five years. Almost the only differences between *John Brown* as it was published in 1910 and the "revised" edition of 1943 are (1) a brief foreword and (2) nine pages of addenda.

It is not important that the typography and format remain identical. But since 1910 changes have taken place in the capitalization of words. No longer is "abolitionist" capitalized; on the other hand, the word "Negro" no longer commonly begins with a small letter. But the greatest shock to the reader of the revised edition is to run across references to characters or places that existed in 1910 and which, since the language remains unchanged, are assumed to exist at the present time. For example, we read that "there are two other participants, Henry Thompson, and Salmon Brown, still surviving . . ." (p. 149) Villard also speaks of Mrs. Coppoc, "whose quaint and fast-decaying house may still be seen in Springdale." (p. 329)

The essential difficulty, therefore, that Villard faces is that his book was written for an audience of thirty-five years ago. To make a contribution to the present accumulation of the literature on John Brown, Villard might do either of two things. One of these is to imagine Brown living rather than dead, and to attempt to recapture the times in which he lived and by which he was conditioned. This calls for re-creating the atmosphere in which he moved by placing him in his economic and social setting. (In his book, *The Year of Decision*: 1846, Bernard DeVoto thus attempts to tell the story of a westering nation in such a way that the reader may realize the westward movement as a personal experience.

Another approach would be to place more emphasis on the interpretive. Since Villard wrote in 1910 there has been a tremendously increased emphasis on both economic determinism and Freudian psychology. An analysis of Brown from these angles is imperative if Villard would satisfy the devotees of these schools of thought. On second thought, however, it might be well for Villard to let these groups do the job for themselves. Marxists are hard to please. As for the psychology people, it would be unkind to deprive them of the chance to have a field day on Brown. True, in view of Brown's twenty children it would be difficult to at-

TRAVELERS' HOTEL DIRECTORY

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★ **BUY WAR BONDS** ★

tribute his unorthodox behavior to sex-repression. But he would afford a beautiful example of the workings of the frustration-aggression complex. (Even here, however, there would remain the ever-present danger that one day a more direct psychologist would trace the source of Brown's reform proclivities to a stomach disorder.)

There is one final criticism that cannot be dismissed as lightly. One of Villard's ablest critics, James C. Malin, author of *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six*, challenges the assumption that throughout Brown's career he was interested in the Negro. Malin also raises another question. Which had the greater importance on history: Brown the man, or the legend about him? Both of these matters, though pertinent to a professional researcher, represent a species of historical afterthought. Regardless as to whether Brown showed little interest in the Negro until late in life, Negroes have come to revere him as the way and the light. With Negroes Brown wears well—even better, for example, than Lincoln. An outstanding contemporary leader in Negro thought speaks of Brown as "the man who of all Americans perhaps comes nearest to touching the real souls of black folk." A leading contemporary Negro poet, after a visit to the site of Brown's burial, voices the exhortation: "Let your love be dew on his evergreen grave."

Likewise of academic interest only is the question as to whether the man Brown or the Brown legend was of more importance. Even if Brown were wholly obscure prior to Harper's Ferry, the ensuing rapid current of events gave him a lasting name. Less than a year after his execution, Lincoln was elected president. Within another eight months the song, "John Brown's Body," had been improvised by four soldiers from the Twelfth Massachusetts regiment. Emerson's peroration that Brown's death would make the gallows glorious like the cross was prophetic. The fate of God's angry man become a rallying cry and with Northern success on the battlefield his memory took stature. Brown's brooding figure stands in the forefront of those uncompromising reformers who shook America during the period which a contemporary English traveller called "the martyr age."

The efficacy of Brown's methods are open to question. Apologists for this or that program of social action may use Brown in their attempts to prove that a creative solution to a besetting problem can or cannot be reached through non-violence, overt violence or some combination of both. One fact, however, stands out. The battle against injustice and oppression is an American phenomenon whether the year be 1776, 1861 or 1944. And in this eternal battle John Brown emerges as one of those national characters who inspires the American people when they are most in consonance with the best in their history.

BENJAMIN QUARLES.

Philadelphia Strike

(*Continued from page* 283)

advertisements, news items, letters, long distance phone calls, corralling of other civic organizations, meetings, and a report, for example, received at 2 p.m. on the first day of the strike that PTC had printed notices for posting in car barns that its orders for upgrading of Negroes was revoked. At 4 p.m. on the same day through NAACP's urgent calls, PTC offices were crowded with important organization representatives to whom PTC's Dr. Mitten, with obvious chagrin, announced that while the notices had been printed they would not be used. This is but one example of the tremendous call on community resources. So many cooperating organizations were working it is difficult to single out any of those which made the greatest contribution. Every section of the city did its share and each had an effect in helping to maintain coolness and order in the midst of tensions which waited only for an ignition spark. One other asset in the situation was undoubtedly the Philadelphia police which all reports credit for keeping order, rather than creating disorder, especially during the early days of the strike. Indeed, the police did an estimable job in spite of the fact that the Mayor's apathetic attitude gave little strength to the law enforcement agencies.

That part of the strike which made the headlines was not flatttering to the city, but the enlightened performance of the many groups of Philadelphians is a bright spot on which to build tolerance, justice, fairplay and interracial amicability in the future.

Today the street cars, the busses, the subways, and Els are running. The eight Negro trainees have gone back to work and colored motormen are at the helm of some of the vehicles. The strike is over, or is it?

The evil and hate generated in a situation which all factors indicate to be a planned affair with race baiting as the "red herring," which a Federal Grand Jury is now investigating, will remain sequestered below surface civilities long after the work stoppage is forgotten. So it was in Germany years ago when similar "baiting" based on religion was started. We are involved in a global war to eliminate the principles on which that was based. While we fight that war we must not overlook what may be happening at home.

Negro Chaplain Averages 65 Sermons a Month

Recently assigned as chaplain of a Negro engineer battalion at an invasion base section in England, Chaplain (First Lieutenant) William E. McClellan, of Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, averages sixty-five sermons each month, and in addition administers communions, interviews enlisted men, lectures to British audiences, irons out many personal problems, and helps direct a chorus.

Youth Council News

(Continued from page 298)

tary; Miss Camilla Draughn, Wichita Falls, assistant secretary; Mr. T. J. Myles, Tyler, treasurer and Miss Mabel Kilpatrick, Houston, state advisor.

ANTIOCH COLLEGE: The first college chapter on the campus of a white school has been chartered at Antioch College, Yellow Spring, Ohio. Officers are Joan Ellis, president; Marge Monroe, vice-president; Elizabeth Wolff, secretary-treasurer. Valdermar Carlson is faculty advisor. Effort is now being made to organize a branch in the local community. Program plans include helping the Jamaicans at the nearby camp and working toward the solution of other community problems. They will cooperate with the Wilberforce University chapter.

LASTING PEACE

There will not be a lasting peace,
Hostilities will never cease
Until these baneful homefront Nazi gangsters stop
This calling Sam the "nigger" boy and Nick the "Wop."
Such thing as this engenders strife,
No peace can be where it is rife;
Where the rose should bloom it raises ugly weeds,
Where the smile should be, it frowns and hatred breeds.
Until such haughty tactics change
And all men come within the range
Of what is called the brotherhood of man
And fatherhood of God
Ordained and stamped and written in the plan
For all upon this sod,
I say, where these conditions are
There will be war and bloody war.
Such hate but leads to seas of blood;
Would you create a crimson flood?
Ah, trouble waits for those who're calling Irish Mike
A "shanty" Irishman and Abe a dirty "kike."
Believe me, this is dynamite
To blow peace higher than a kite,
And it is but the road to ruin—to certain doom.
Now, where there is democracy there is no room
For snobbishness and hate like this—
Wherever found it is amiss.
Hate is but that something hidden in the spring,
That evil dragon red,
Deadly as the hemlock, grief and death to bring;
It is a thing to dread.
Stamp it out, kill its increase,
Then there will be lasting peace.

WILLIAM HENRY HUFF.

TO A LONE NEGRO IN A SMALL TOWN

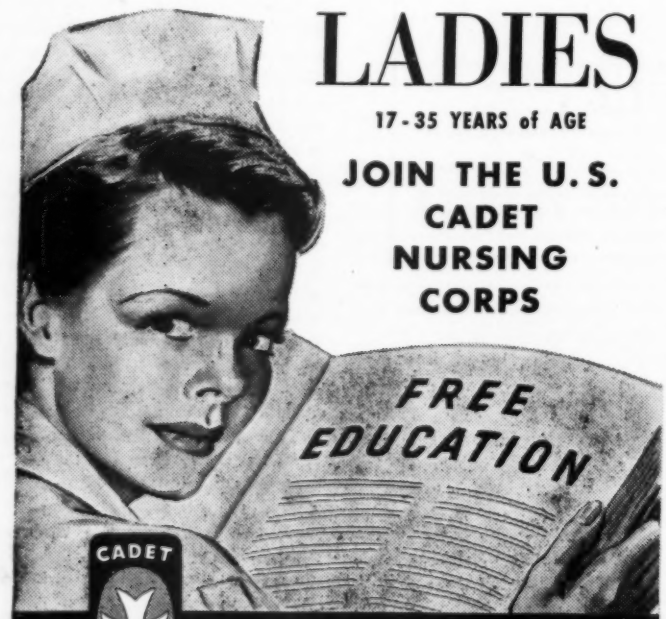
There is peace and calm!
Too much! Too much!
I beat my head with my fist.
How the whirling World
Goes on! Goes on!
Yet never a one to list
To the unechoed moan of my lonesomeness!

Take me out of this lily-white throng!
Let me hear, now, the noise of a city street;
See your smiling brown face pass along!

CONSTANCE C. NICHOLS.

Negro Curb Market Has Birthday

Rounding out annual sales totaling over $5,000, the Tarboro, N. C., Negro farm and home curb market celebrated its first birthday during July. Proud of the achievement of this market which not only provides a new outlet for farm products but which also establishes a reliable source of fresh fruits and vegetables for the townspeople, the city of Tarboro sent men, trucks, tractors, mowing machines and other implements to spruce up the building and grounds as a birthday present.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They provide: SECURITY for Loved Ones, JOBS for Trained Negroes and ECONOMIC POWER for the Group

The National Negro Insurance Association reported for 1942:

—Assets of $37,882,046.44
—Income of $56,711,795.84
—Insurance in force: $474,226,628
—Policies in force: 2,808,414
—Employment: 9,690 Negroes

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Geo. A. Beavers, Jr., *Vice-President*
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CHANGE OF ADDRESS

When sending in change of address be sure to give both the old and the new address. Three weeks notice is required for a change of address.

Mrs. Grace Clifford, New York social leader says: "A clear, healthy, unblemished complexion is the greatest social asset! Ugly, pimply, rough skin weakens one's popularity, rendering it difficult to gain entree into society. Beautiful women cleanse their skin with warm water and gentle medicated ***Palmer's*** "SKIN-SUCCESS" SOAP. To lighten skin that is dark and tanned, I heartily recommend fast-working, fragrant ***Palmer's*** "SKIN-SUCCESS" WHITENING CREAM. Another hint: If embarrased by pimples, eczema and other blemishes of external origin, be sure to use ***Palmer's*** "SKIN-SUCCESS" OINTMENT. Helps bring blessed relief and a CLEARER HEALTHIER, LOVLIER SKIN, everyone adores."

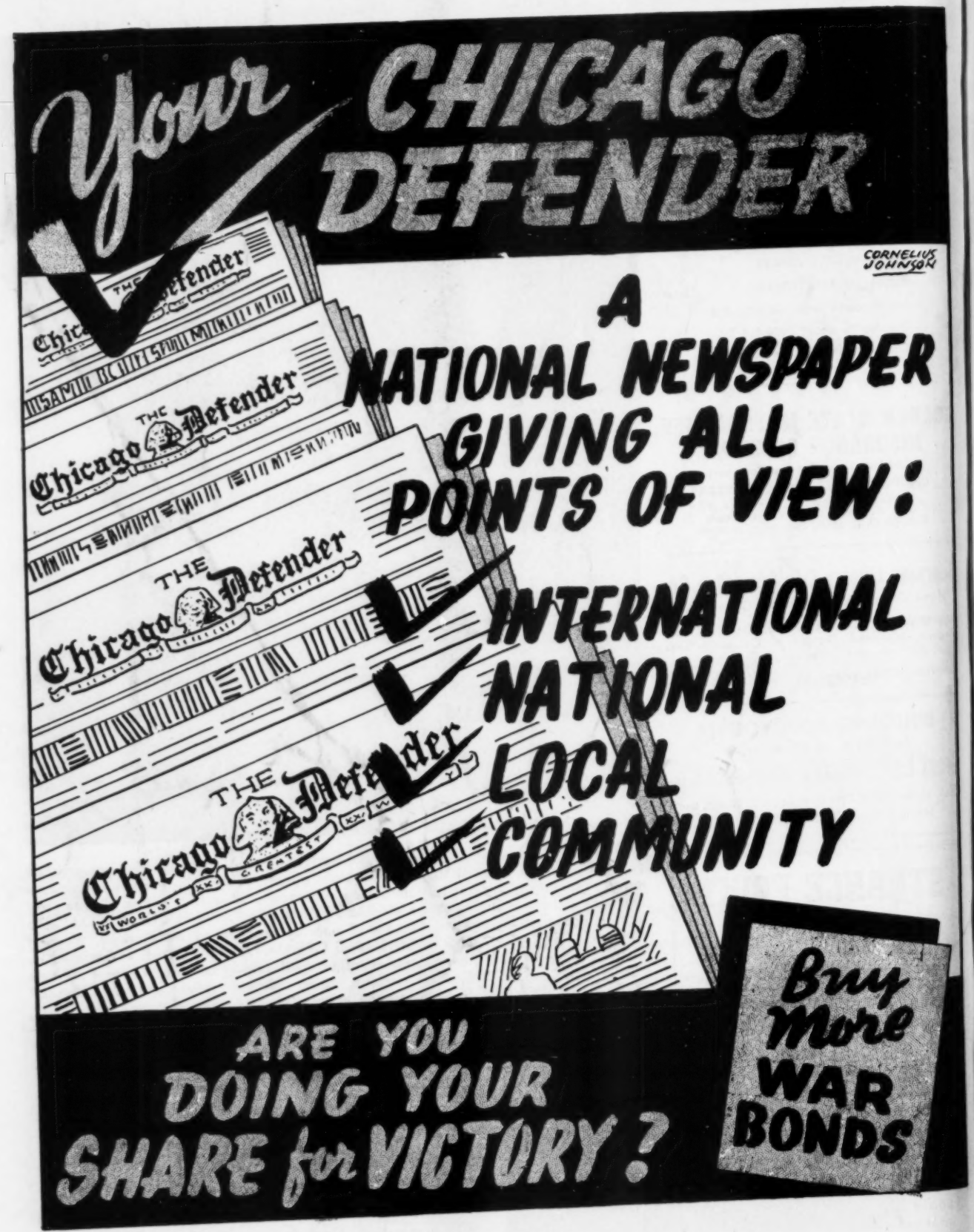
POETRY CONTEST

Josephine Neal announces her poetry contest

The awards given will be $25, $15, and $10 for the three best poems

Other poems will be selected for publication
Only unpublished original poems are wanted

Address: Josephine Neal, 1812-A N. Taylor Ave., St. Louis 13, Mo.
No manuscripts will be returned. Contest closes October 31, 1944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